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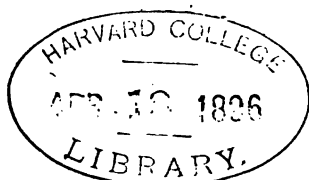
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* This Map has been kindly presented by Mr. W. Long.

† This, as also the greater part of the illustrations which accompany the Rev. E. Trollope's memoir on Labyrinths, has been contributed by the author.

‡ This illustration has been presented by the Rev. G. M. Nelson, now the possessor of the Ewer.

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* For these illustrations the Institute is indebted to the liberality of Mr. Petit, from whose drawings they have been engraved.

† Presented by Mr. Shirley, M.P.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

THE document, from which an extract *in extenso* is given in the note pp. 129, 130, has been since ascertained not to be the same which is referred to by Mr. Blaauw in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, ii. p. 97. It appears that there were at Carlton Ride two accounts, essentially different, which testified to the burial of Sir Arnauld de Gavaston at Winchester in 1302.

Page 280.—It may deserve notice that an account of Chiavenna, and of the catastrophe by which the adjacent town of Pleurs was destroyed, has been given by Bishop Burnet, in his *Travels*, in 1685-86, as narrated in letters to the Hon. Robert Boyle.

Page 294.—There is a small post-town called Kalte Herberge on the road from Strasburg to Basle, through Suabia. See *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxi. p. 1186; lxiii. p. 603.

The Archaeological Journal.

MARCH, 1858.

ON THE REMAINS OF ANCIENT STONE-BUILT FORTRESSES AND HABITATIONS OCCURRING TO THE WEST OF DINGLE, COUNTY KERRY.

THE earliest vestiges, which are still in existence, of any dwellings of the inhabitants of Ireland consist generally of a simple circular mound of earth, surrounded by one or more fosses and earthen ramparts; but they are for the most part so defaced by time, that archæologists have passed them by as undeserving of attention. When, however, we find stone buildings of an equally remote period occurring in groups, surrounded by a massive circular wall, as if intended for warlike defences, and in detached houses comprising one, two, or three apartments more or less circular in plan, and all evincing considerable skill and ingenuity in their designs, the investigation of them is attended with no little interest; for it may throw some light on the social condition of a race, who occupied Ireland at a period so remote that scarcely a trace of their arts has been preserved to us, and even their specific name as a people has not been rescued from oblivion.

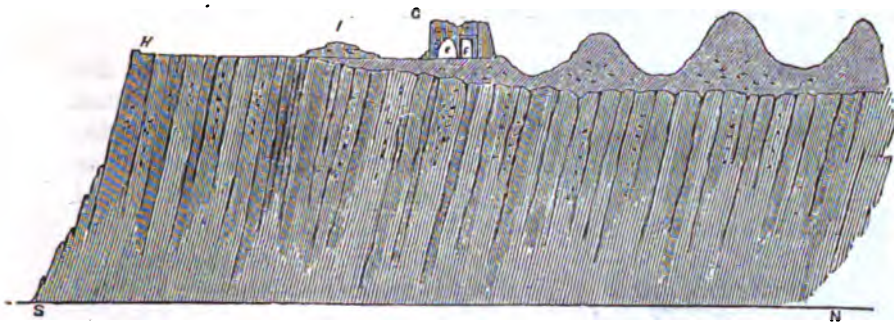
It was my good fortune, in the summer of 1856, while engaged on the Geological Survey of Ireland in the Dingle promontory, to meet with an extensive group of such buildings. They are known as Cahers and Cloghauns,¹ and had till then escaped the notice both of tourists and antiquaries. These buildings, amounting probably to seventy or eighty in number, are in the parishes of Ventry, Ballinvogher, and Dunquin, and occupy, in groups as well as singly,

¹ *Caher*, signifies a circular wall of dry masonry, as well as a fort or stone house of large size. *Cloghaun*, as here used, means a hut or house formed of

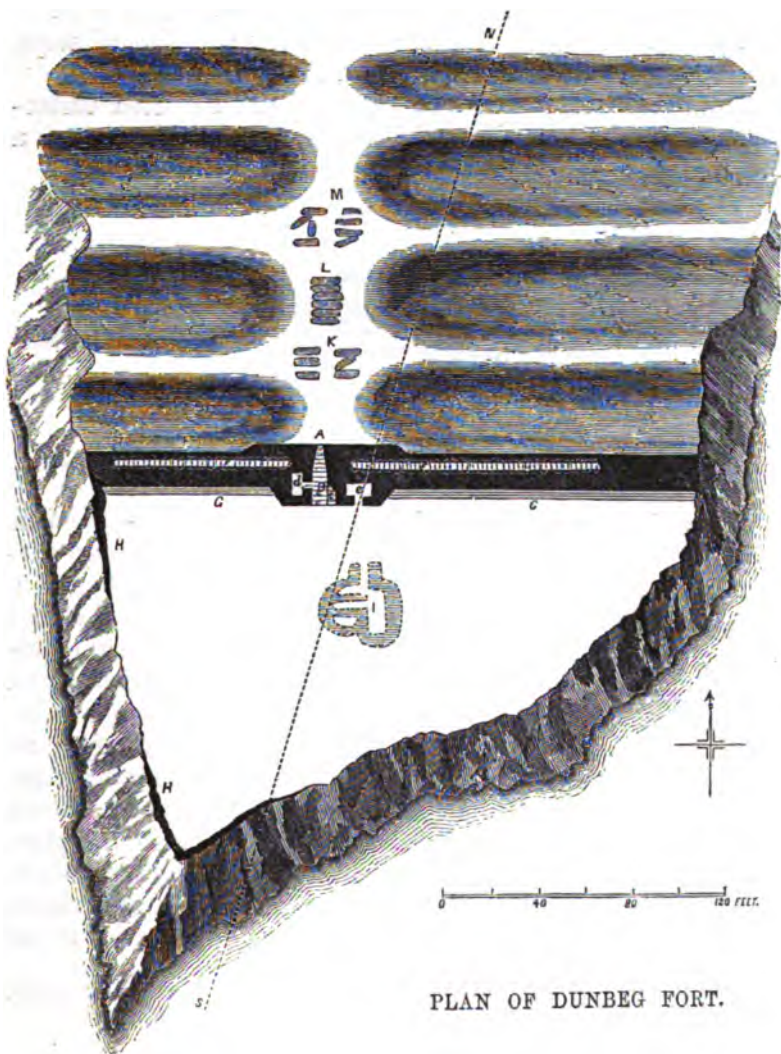
dry masonry, with the room or rooms dome-shaped, having each stone overlapping the other, and terminating in a single stone.

the narrow and gently sloping plateau, which extends along the southern base of Mount Eagle, from Dunbeg fort or Caher on the east, to the village of Coumeenoolle on the west, a distance of three miles. (See Plate I.) An ancient bridle-path, still in use, winds along the slope of the hill near the northern limit, and was the original road which led to them. They occur principally in the townland of Fahan : hence the collection of buildings which I am about to describe, may with propriety be called the ancient Irish city of Fahan. Proceeding west from the coast-guard station at Ventry along the bridle-road just alluded to, at a short distance south-east of Fahan village, we arrive at a group of small Cloghauns, or beehive-shaped huts, which appear to have served as an outpost, to guard the place on that side from any hostile surprise ; and close to them, nearer to the sea, are two groups of standing stones called Gallauns, which mark the eastern limit of the city.

The Caher or fort of Dunbeg, which protected the city of Fahan on the east, is the first of these ancient structures which requires a detailed description. By reference to the map, it will be seen that it lies due south of the present village of Fahan on the sea coast. This remarkable fort (a plan of which is given on the opposite page) has been formed by separating the extreme point of an angular headland from the main shore by a massive stone-wall, constructed without cement, from 15 to 25 feet in thickness, and extending 200 feet in length from cliff to cliff. This wall is pierced near its middle by a passage (b), which is flagged overhead, the doorway to which is at present 3 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet wide at top, and 3 feet at its present base, having a lintel of 7 feet in length ; as the passage recedes from the doorway it widens to 8 feet, and becomes arched overhead ; to the right hand, and constructed in the thickness of the wall, is a rectangular room (d)—perhaps a guard-room—measuring about 10 feet by 6 feet, and communicating with the passage by means of a low square opening, opposite to which, in the passage, is a broad bench-like seat (c) ; a second guard-room (e), similar to the one just described, has been constructed in the thickness of the wall, on the left hand of the main entrance, but unconnected with it, the access to this being from the area of the fort, through a low square opening.



Scale 80 ft. to 1 in.
Section of Dunbeg Fort on line N. S.

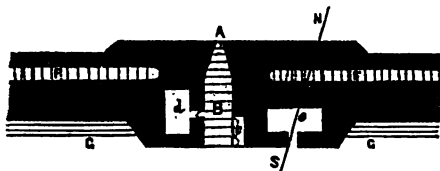


PLAN OF DUNBEG FORT.

The Caher wall, on the exterior face at each side of the entrance doorway, has been strengthened by an additional layer of masonry about 4 feet in depth and 30 feet in length, which bears, however, the appearance of an after-thought, as the face of the original wall is clearly distinguishable behind the outer work. (See Plate II.)

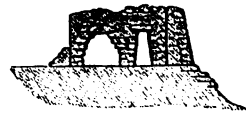
In the thickness of the wall at each side of the entrance doorway (A), are long narrow passages, (F F) formerly covered in, the uses of which are not apparent, as no original means of access to them are visible; similar passages are not uncommon in stone forts, Cashels, or Cahers.² The interior face of the wall of Dunbeg recedes by a succession of steps, which doubtless led to a parapet on the top.

The details of the curious entrance will be better understood from the following plan and section, which are on a larger scale:—



PLAN OF ENTRANCE, DUNBEG.

Scale 40 ft. to 1 in.



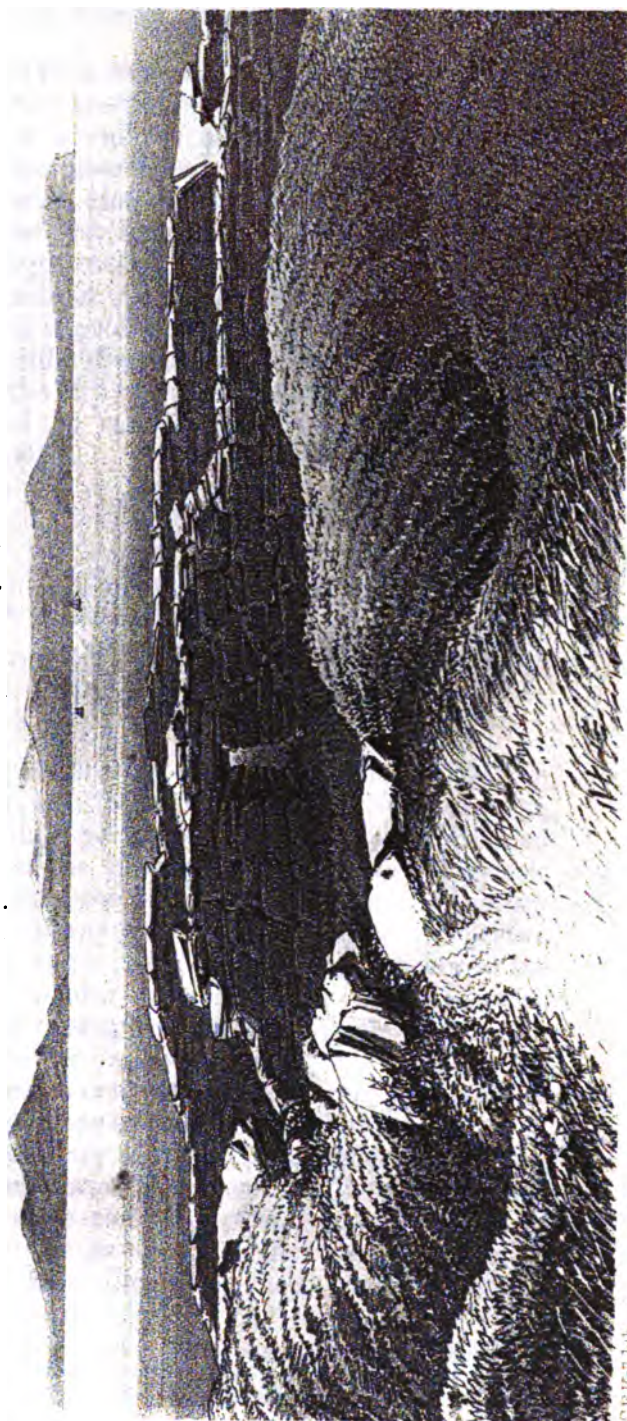
SECTION OF WALL ON LINE N S.

- a. Main doorway.
- b. Passage through wall.
- c. Raised bench or seat.

- d. Guard chamber.
- f f. Covered passages in thickness of wall.
- g g. Wall diminishing by steps.

As a further means of defence a series of three earthen mounds, with intervening fosses, have been thrown up outside this wall, having a pathway through them, leading in a direct line to the main entrance; at each point where this cuts the mounds evidence remains to show that it passed through a stone gateway or passage (K and M), flagged overhead, and probably equal in length to the thickness of the mound; in the passage leading across the second fosse from the fort, an underground chamber (L), flagged overhead, was constructed. The relative proportions of the mounds and fosses are shown in the section, which is taken between N and S in the plan. They are formed out of the drift clay and gravel which overlie the strata of dull purple grits, sandstones, and slates, of which the promontory is composed. In the interior of the

² Vide Ordnance Survey. Memoir on the city of Derry. Dr. Petries' account of the Grinaun Hill.



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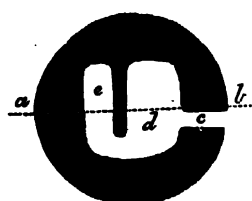
WALL OF THE MOUNTAIN OF THE MOUNTAIN (LOOKING SOUTH)

Wall of the Mountain of the Mountain

Caher are the remains of several Cloghauns (I), the plans of which cannot now be traced with certainty ; and on the west side are portions of a wall (H), along the edge of the cliff, which is about 90 feet above the level of the sea.

From the extreme eastern and western limits of the external fortifications just described, two walls extend up the flank of Mount Eagle, nearly parallel to each other, thus separating the town from the adjoining country to the east, and enclosing a plot of ground now called "Park a doona."

I shall next describe the most remarkable of the Cahers and Cloghauns in the city of Fahan, noticing each in succession as they would be reached in going westwards from Dunbeg to Sleah Head.³



No. 1.

- c. Entrance.
- d. Principal chamber.
- e. Sleeping apartment.

Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.



No. 1. A simple circular Cloghaun, about 11 feet in diameter internally, and 19 feet externally. It is constructed, as are all the buildings yet to be noticed, of roughly quarried blocks and flags of the greenish gray or brownish purple grits and sandstones of the district, the stones being laid dry or without cement of any kind. When a Cloghaun is perfect each stone is placed so as to overlap the one below as the wall rises, till the chamber is completed in a dome-shaped form, a single stone closing the top. In Wales, where such buildings as these occur on the mountains in good preservation, the apex stone is omitted, or else largely perforated to allow of the escape of smoke and to admit light.

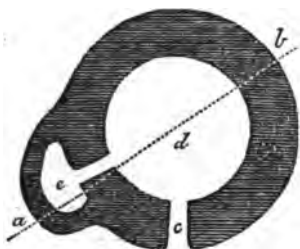
It is scarcely necessary to remark, that this is the earliest as well as simplest form of the arch or dome, and is the method adopted by the early Egyptians to construct their dome-shaped chambers as well as arches in the pyramids. The entrance to this Cloghaun faces the east, and a

³ The following wood-cuts, in addition to a plan of the building, show a section of the walls ; the black portions being

those now remaining, and the outlines indicating the probable form of the buildings when complete.

portion of the chamber has been divided off to form a sleeping apartment, covered overhead with flags.

No. 2.



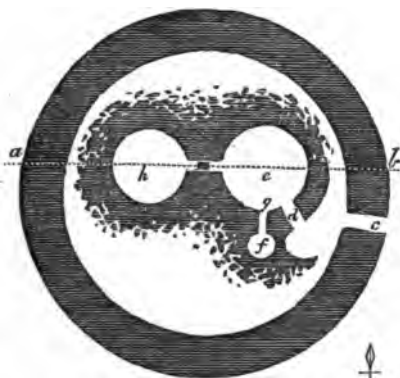
Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

c. Entrance to Cloghaun.

d. Chamber.

e. Sleeping apartment.

No. 2. This is a circular Cloghaun, 15 feet in diameter internally, having a low and narrow recess attached to it externally on its S. W. periphery, access to which is by a low angular opening; from this peculiarity of construction the sleeping recess does not encroach on the main apartment, as in the former example.



No. 3.

c. Entrance to Caher.

d. Entrance to the Cloghauna.

e. Principal apartment.

f. Small chamber, communicating with the principal room by the passage (g).

h. Inner chamber, with passage leading to the outer.

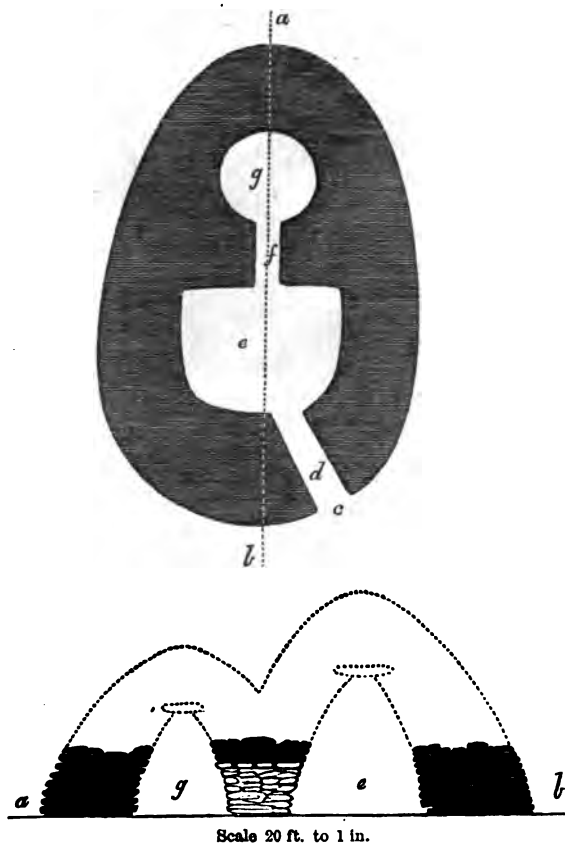


Scale 40 ft. to 1 in.

No. 3. This building is a Caher about 75 feet in diameter, consisting of a circular stone-wall 8 feet thick, the exterior of which inclines from the base upwards and appears to have terminated in a parapet; the doorway through this wall faces the east, and is 4 feet wide, with sloping sides, but

the lintel wanting. In the interior area of the Caher are the foundations of several circular chambers, that nearest the entrance (*e*) is 17 feet in diameter internally, having had its door facing the south-east; on entering this chamber a narrow passage a little to the left leads due south into a small circular apartment (*f*); a second passage leads westwards from the principal chamber into an inner one, also circular, and 16 feet in diameter. The whole of this Caher, with its enclosed Cloghauns, is very massive in its construction.

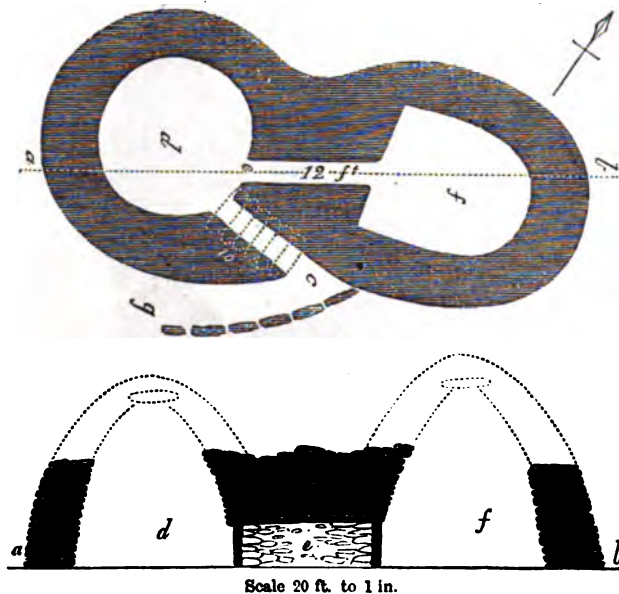
- No. 4.
- c.* Entrance doorway and passage (*d*).
 - e.* First chamber.
 - f.* Passage between the chambers.
 - g.* Inner chamber.



No. 4. This is a most singular double Cloghaun, remarkable for the great thickness of its walls in proportion to the size of the two enclosed chambers. In plan it is oval; the doorway faces the south-east, where the wall is 11 feet in thickness, and the passage from it is constructed obliquely

to the longest axis of the building ; it leads to the first or ante-chamber, which measures 16 feet by 13 feet, being semi-circular at its southern and rectangular at its northern end. In the middle of the north side of this chamber, a narrow passage leads to the second or inner apartment, which is circular, and about 10 feet in diameter. As in the former examples, little more than the foundations of this remarkable building remains. It would be interesting to know how it was completed externally ; from its plan I am led to suppose it terminated in a double cone-shaped roof, that formed by the completion of the larger chamber being more lofty than the other.

No. 5.



- c.* Entrance doorway, still perfect. *e.* Passage, flagged overhead.
d. Outer chamber. *f.* Inner chamber.
g. Row of upright flagstones.

No. 5. This has evidently been a double-roofed Cloghaun very similar to the former, and was constructed with much care. The doorway faces the east where the wall is 10 feet thick, and, as in the former example, the entrance passage is oblique to the longest axis of the building ; it leads into a circular chamber 16 feet in diameter ; where, close to the entrance on the right hand a narrow passage, flagged over and 12 feet long, leads from the first to the inner or second

apartment, which in plan is rectangular at its western and semicircular at its eastern extremity, and 16 feet long by about 14 feet wide. Exterior to the main doorway is a row of upright flag-stones, placed so as to follow the contour of the Cloghaun at about 3 feet distance from it; these may have been portions of the side wall of a covered passage leading to it.



No. 6.

d. Main chamber.

e. Sleeping recess.



Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

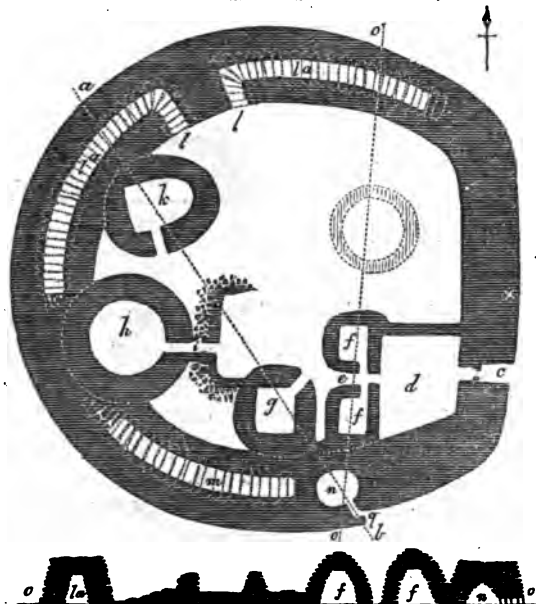
No. 6. A small elliptical Cloghaun, having the doorway facing the south-east, and its passage oblique to the longest axis of the hut. In the interior a stone diaphragm has been constructed, thus arching off a small portion of the chamber to form a sleeping apartment; a low square opening directly facing the main entrance leads into it.

No. 7. The fort called Cahernamactirech appears to be the principal building of this group. Its name signifies "the stone fort of the wolves." It is from 95 feet to 105 feet in diameter, and consists of a massive and almost circular stone-wall, varying in thickness from 11 to 18 feet. The entrance passage through the wall (c), which is here 11 feet thick, faces the east, and is most singular in its construction; externally it measures 5 feet in width, narrowing midway to less than 4 feet internally. Here several stones project vertically from the walls of the passage at each side, forming a rest, against which a moveable door could be placed, so as to resist any force applied from without. I am not aware that, amongst similar buildings in Ireland, Scotland, or Wales, another example exists of a main door-way thus constructed. The entrance passage leads into a small court-yard, about 19 feet from east to west, and 20 feet from north to south; opposite is a narrow passage, formed and protected at each side by what may have been small guard-houses; both of these are still perfect, measuring 6 feet 6 inches square internally,

and rising into a lofty dome-shaped roof. On the left hand, and close to the southern guard-house, but detached from it, is a Cloghaun (*g*), measuring 12 feet square internally. Having passed this building, the central area of the fort is reached.



No. 7.



Scale 40 ft. to 1 in.

CAHERNAMACTRECH.

* Point of sight for view in Plate III.

c. Entrance doorway.

d. Court-yard.

e. Narrow passage leading to interior of the Fort.

ff. Guard-houses.

g. Cloghaun.

h. Principal Cloghaun.

i. Passage leading to it.

k. Cloghaun.

ll. Entrances to covered passages *l'*, *l''*.

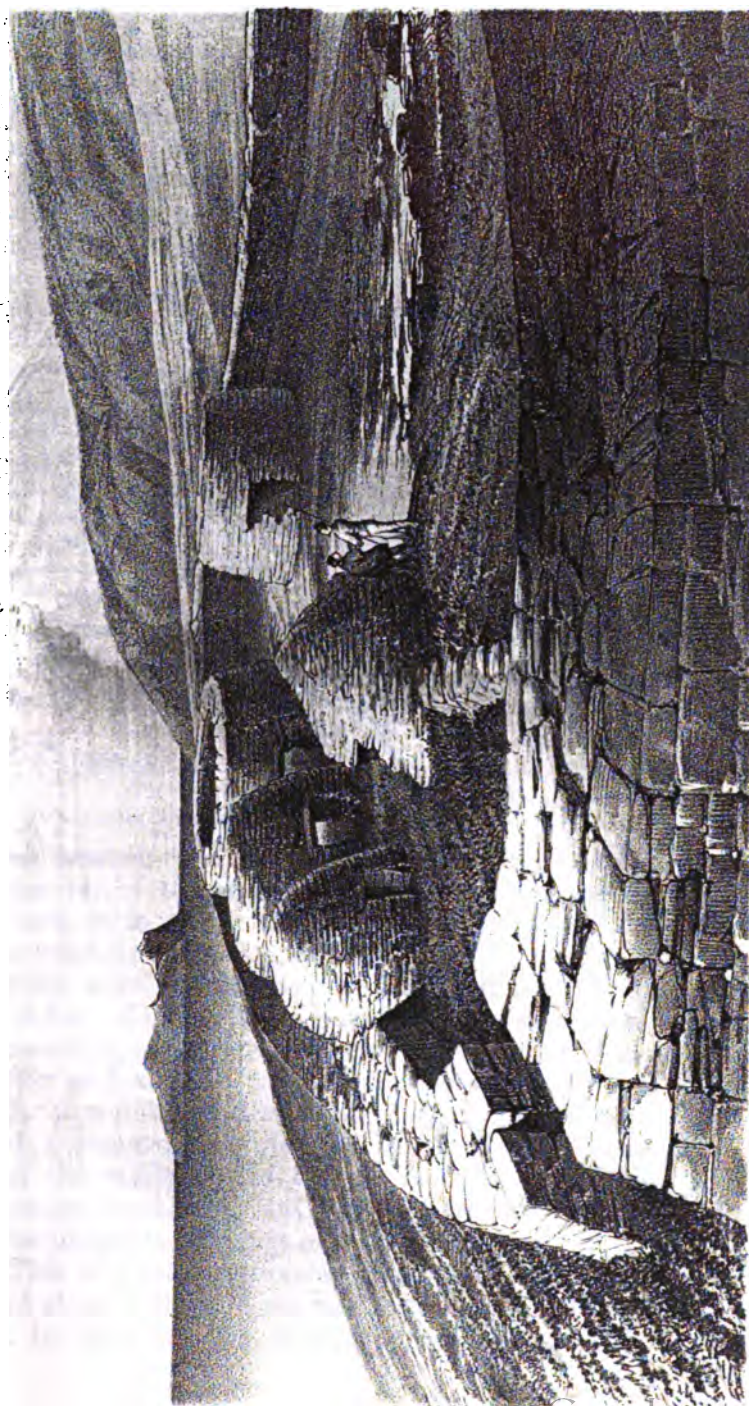
m. Covered passage.

n. Watch-house.

o. Entrance to watch-house.

On the left, attached to the Caher wall, is the principal house or Cloghaun (*h*), constructed with unusual care, its doorway being formed internally of large upright flag-stones, supporting a flat lintel, and the passage leading to it flagged above. The following wood-cut gives a view of the inner side of this doorway. In the interior of the Cloghaun, to the right of the door, is a small square recess, about 4 feet above the present level of the floor. The Cloghaun marked *k* on the plan of this Caher, lies directly north of the one last described, and is much ruder in its construction. Its doorway is unique in construction, one side projecting from, while the other is level with, the external surface of the building.

Several other buildings of the beehive type were scattered



over the remaining area of Cahernamactirech ; but they are now mere heaps of stones.

The circular and massive wall which encloses the buildings I have just described, measures 18 feet in thickness on the west and north ; two narrow passages (*l*ⁿ), flagged overhead, have been constructed in its thickness,—one having its entrance close to the north of the Cloghaun marked *k*, and running southerly for the distance of about 40 feet ; the other with its entrance close to the first, passes easterly in the wall for the distance of probably 30 feet, and then



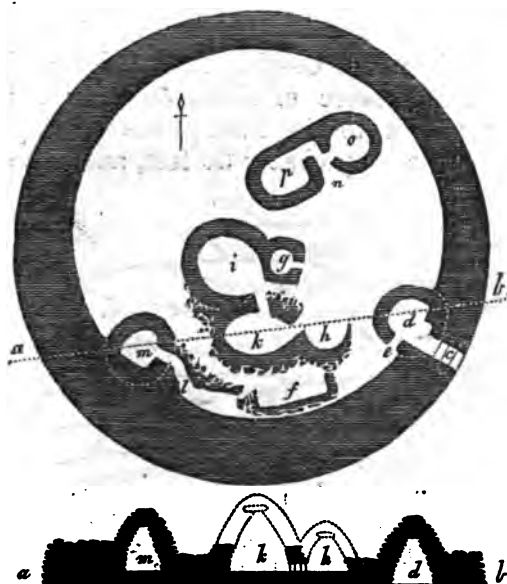
Interior of the Doorway of the Cloghaun A, Cahernamactirech.

becomes obliterated, the roof having fallen in ; a third such passage (*m*), of the same proportions and construction as the others, is in the wall at the south periphery, the entrance to which is not distinguishable.

South of the main doorway of the Caher, and constructed in the thickness of the wall, is a small circular guard-house, or watch-house (*n*), access to which is from the exterior of the Fort by a low and angular passage ; that this chamber was intended for a watch-house is most evident, and from it is obtained a commanding view of Dingle Bay, Valentia Island, and the range of the Iveragh mountains ; in this watch-house, constructed in the Caher wall, we have another feature quite unique in buildings of this age and type.

No. 8. This is a massive circular Caher, with an external diameter of about 100 feet ; the wall measures from 10 feet to 14 feet in thickness, the thicker portions being to the

south-west ; the doorway is still perfect, flat-topped, 4 feet 6 inches wide at the base, and 3 feet 9 inches at the top ; the passage from this door is nearly perfect, flagged overhead, and leads directly into a guard-chamber, measuring 8 feet



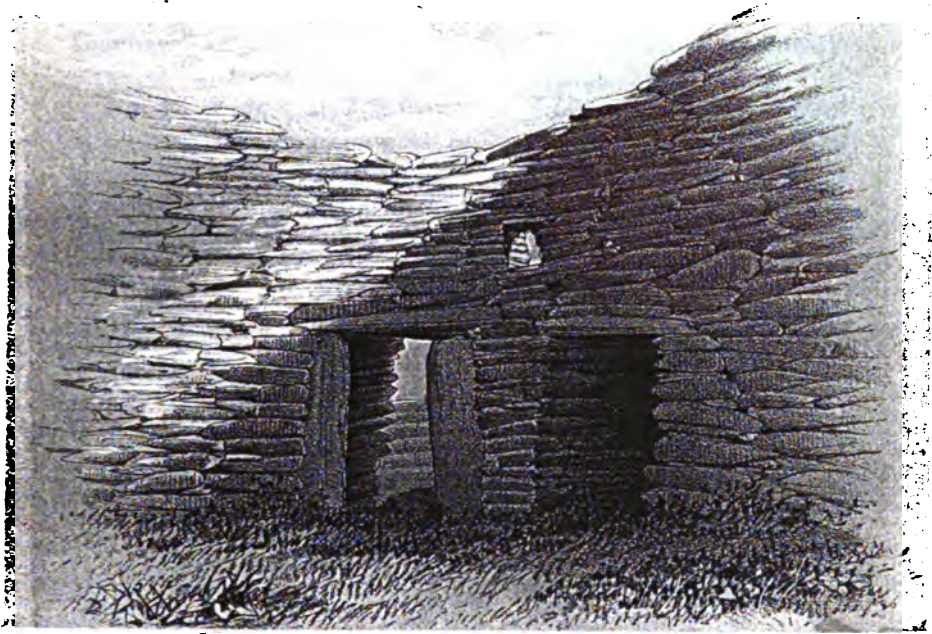
No. 8.

- c. Entrance doorway, still partly flagged overhead.
- d. Guard-chamber.
- e. Passage to area of Fort.
- f. Remains of a chamber.
- g. Dog-house, attached to Cloghaun i.
- k. Cloghaun, communicating with apartments i and a.
- l. Passage leading to Cloghaun m.
- o and p. Double Cloghaun.

Scale 40 ft. to 1 in.

6 inches square internally, and dome-shaped overhead ; from this chamber, which is a unique feature in buildings of this class, a narrow doorway leads into the interior area of the Fort : 50 feet west from this guard-chamber and abutting against the Caher wall, is the Cloghaun marked *m* in the plan ; it is in the most perfect state of preservation, and its doorway, though narrow, is unusually high, fully 6 feet (see Plate IV. fig. 2). In the central area of this Caher is a group of Cloghauns ; that marked *i* on the plan, has attached to it externally, on its eastern side, a small low oval-shaped chamber (*g*), with an unusually small entrance, which faces the east—this, I believe, was intended for a kennel or dog-house. From this Cloghaun is a narrow passage leading south into a second chamber marked *k* on the plan, from which a third passage, running east, leads to a third circular chamber marked *h* on the plan ; here the ruined condition of the building prevents us from ascertaining further its plan.

North of the group of buildings just described is a double



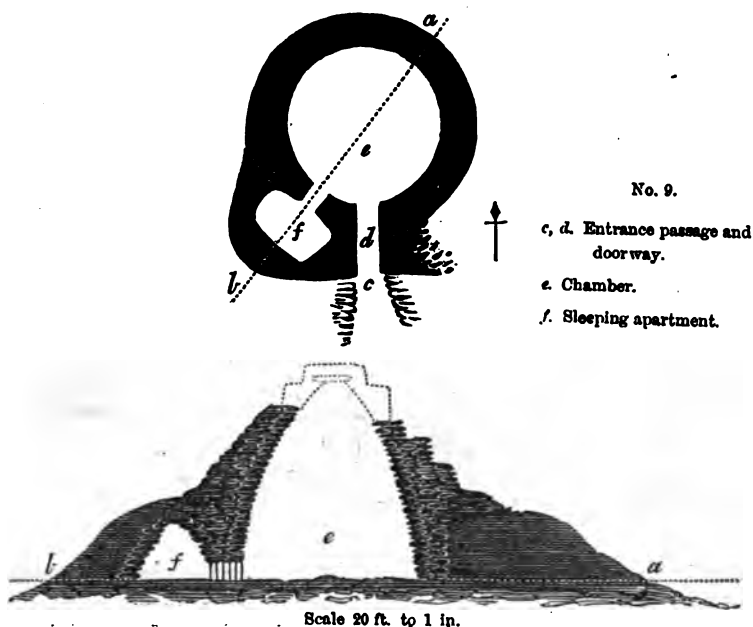
CLOGHAUN N^o 12.
INTERIOR VIEW.



CLOGHAUN N^o 8.

Cloghaun, of a most singular ground-plan, having a common passage (*n*) to the two chambers *o* and *p*.

No. 9. A circular Cloghaun, 18 feet in diameter, formed in an excavation on the east brow of the steep glen, close to the village of Glen-fahan. That portion of the masonry, which is above the level of the surrounding ground, appears, on the east side, to have been constructed in a series of small

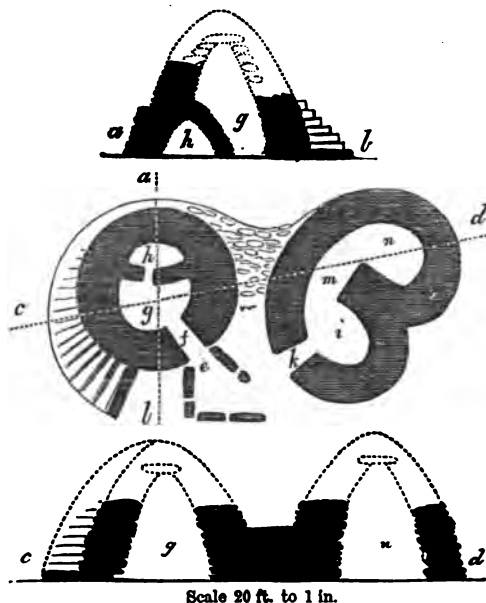


terraces, which lessened in diameter as they rose to form the conical roof; the door which faces the south is 6 feet 6 inches in height, and a trench to it was excavated in the surrounding earth. On the south-west side of the Cloghaun a small sleeping apartment with its usual low narrow entrance was constructed in the earth.

No. 10. A unique double Cloghaun. The two chambers, though quite distinct at the height of a few feet above the foundations, are included in the same ground plan—they lie east and west of each other. That to the west is circular, having its doorway facing the south-east; a portion of its interior (*h*) is partitioned off to form a sleeping chamber, in which respect it resembles Cloghaun No. 6. That to the east has two chambers enclosed under the same roof, connected

by a low passage close to the north wall, and with its doorway facing the south-west.

Outside the more western of these Cloghauns, are the remains of a broad flight of steps, which probably led to the



No. 10.

ef. Entrance passage and doorway to western Cloghaun.

g. Chamber.

A. Sleeping apartment.

b. Steps external to the building.

k. Doorway to eastern Cloghaun.

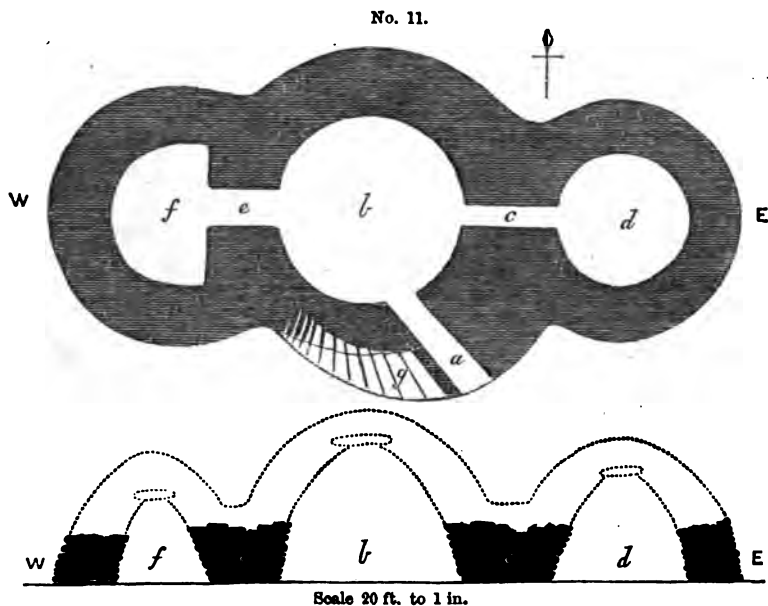
i. Outer chamber.

m. Passage to chamber *n*.

summit of the house, from which an extensive prospect could be obtained.

No. 11. This building is the most singular of any I have yet described. It is called Caher-fada-an-doruis, or the "Long Fort of the Doors." Externally its longest axis is 74 feet from east to west, and the shortest 32 feet from north to south, the walls averaging 5 feet in thickness. Internally it consists of three distinct chambers, ranged in a line from east to west, and connected by straight passages 8 feet in length; the central chamber is circular, measuring about 18 feet in diameter, to this the entrance passage leads, traversing the wall on the S.E. side obliquely to the longest axis of the building; the eastern chamber is also circular, but only 13 feet in diameter, while that to the west is semicircular, measuring 10 feet by 14 feet. The wall to the east of the main entrance is 10 feet thick, while on the west side it is but 5 feet, the increase of thickness being caused by a

flight of steps, which appear to have led to the western side of the roof of the central chamber. There can be but little



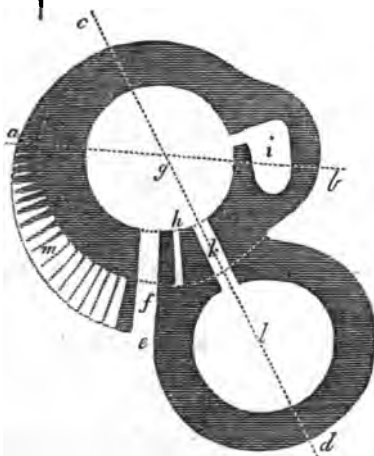
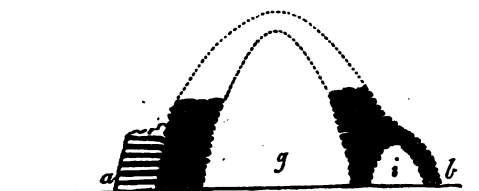
Caher-fada-an-doruis. (The Long Fort of the Doors.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Entrance passage and doorway.
 b. Central chamber.
 c. Passage leading to chamber d.</p> | <p>e. Passage leading to chamber f.
 g. Steps external to the building.</p> |
|--|---|

doubt that in external form Caher-fada-an-doruis originally presented the appearance of a triple dome, the central one being much the most lofty of the three.

No. 12. This is the most interesting of any of the double Cloghauns of the district. The doorway, which is quite perfect, faces the south and leads into the northern chamber, which measures 16 feet in diameter. On the right hand of the main entrance a passage, flagged overhead, leads into the second or southern chamber, which is circular also in plan, and 14 feet in diameter. In the northern Cloghaun, between the two passages just alluded to, is a small angular loop or window, elevated almost 6 feet from the present floor and facing due south (See Plate IV. fig. 1); this is the only example of a window in all the structures which constitute the city of Fahan, possibly owing to the better preservation of this Cloghaun, though many that are quite perfect have not this feature. On the east side of the

northern chamber a low narrow opening gives access to an oval-shaped sleeping recess. A broad flight of steps has been constructed on the exterior of the Cloghaun, extending round the south and west of the northern chamber, thus resembling Cloghaun No. 10.



No. 12.

c, f. Entrance doorway and passage.

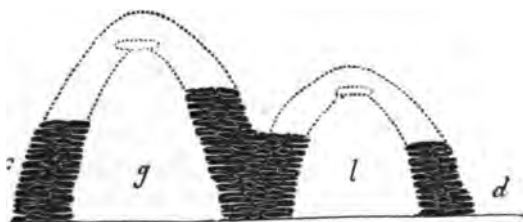
g. First apartment.

h. Window loop.

i. Sleeping recess.

k. Passage to inner chamber.

m. External steps.

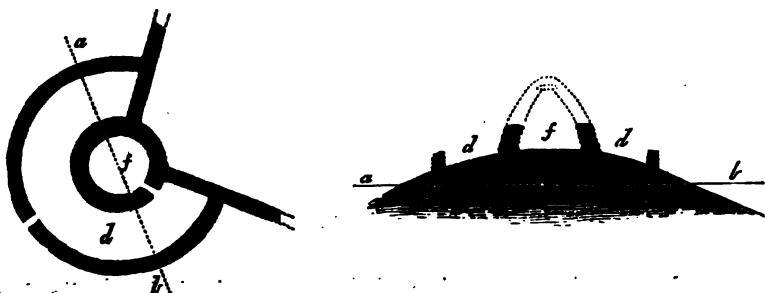


Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

No. 13. In plan this building is circular, 14 feet in diameter, with the doorway facing the east; it is remarkable as forming the angle of an ancient boundary wall, into which it is incorporated. At the distance of about 11 feet from

this hut, and surrounding it on all sides, except that to the north-east, is a stone wall, having a doorway through it on the west. This is the only example in the district of a Cloghaun having been protected and partially enclosed in this manner.

No. 13.



Scale 20 ft. to 1 in.

f. Cloghaun. d. Space between Cloghaun and outer wall.

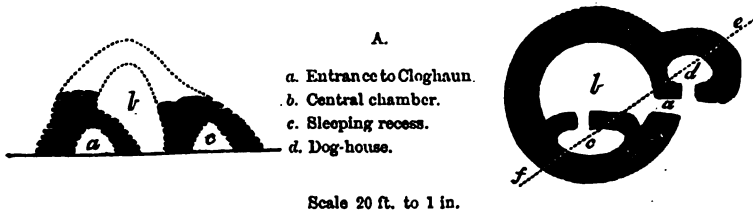
All the Cloghauns which extend from that marked 13 on the map to Slea Head, and thence towards the village of Coumeenoolle, are simple circular buildings, and need no further notice than to record the fact of their existence.

Here I would remark, that it has hitherto been supposed that beehive houses, or Cloghauns, circular in plan, are more ancient than those which are rectangular. Now, from the foregoing descriptions, it is evident that the circular buildings are contemporaneous with the rectangular, or square; indeed, in an example described presently, the Cloghaun consists of a rectangular and a circular chamber connected by a passage.

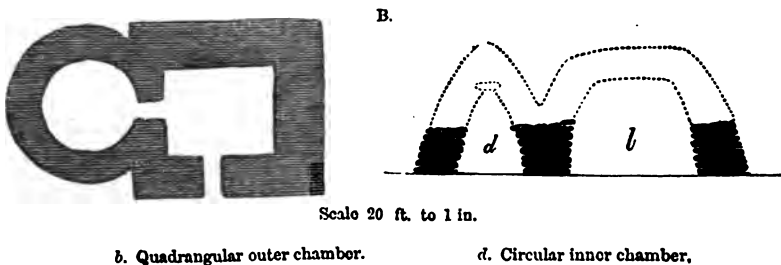
North of the village of Coumeenoolle is Dun-more Fort, constructed by simply separating the grassy hill-shaped promontory, called Dun-more Head, from the main land by what was once a massive earthen wall faced externally with stone, and a deep fosse now nearly obliterated. This wall extended in a north and south direction, from Dunquin Bay to Coumeenoolle Bay, a distance of 1300 feet.

Although but thirteen examples of Cahers and Cloghauns have been given from the group of ruins which I have called the ancient city of Fahan, they have been selected as the most characteristic and perfect.

Before I bring this interesting and hitherto slighted branch of Irish archæology to a close, I wish to direct attention to a few buildings of a class similar to those I have described, though they occur in a different locality, as they supply us with additional information on the subject under consideration.



Cloghaun A is on the side of the mountain, half a mile due north of the old church of Kilmalkedar, between Smerwick harbour and Dingle. In plan it is circular, 12 feet in diameter. The doorway faces the east; adjoining this doorway, on the north-east, and forming as it were an excrescence on the exterior of the circular wall, is what may have been a dog-house, with a low square entrance facing the doorway of the hut; in the interior of the hut itself a portion of it has been separated, to form a sleeping chamber, which has as usual a low narrow entrance to it. I instance this Cloghaun to show that a sleeping-chamber and a dog-house are two distinct features in Cloghaun architecture.

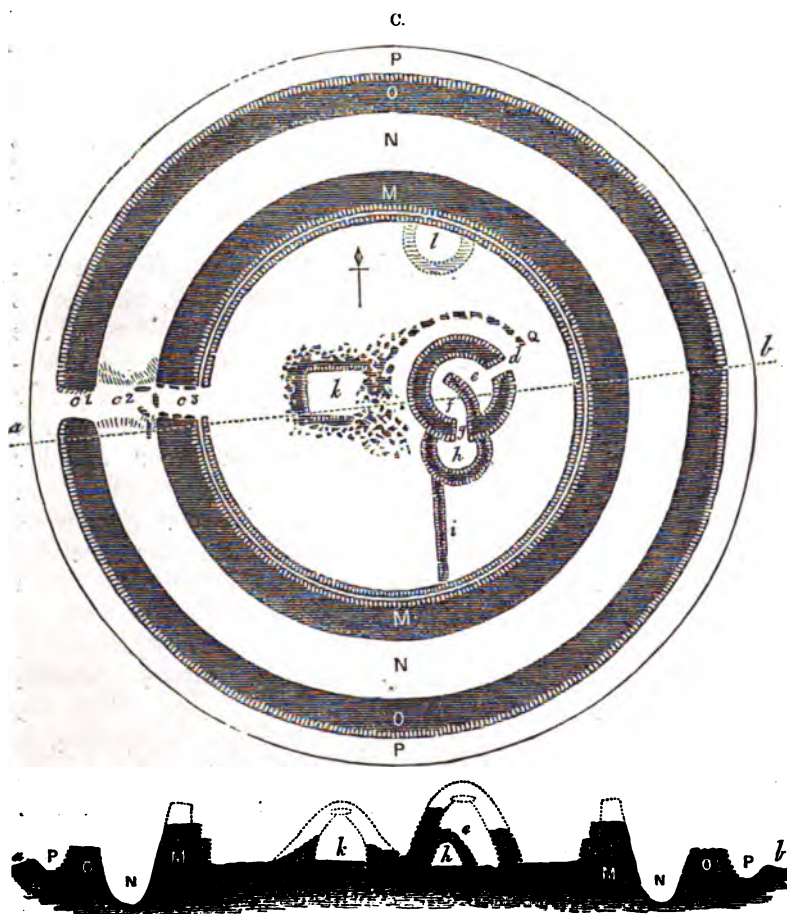


Cloghaun B. This building occurs in the townland of Ballinloghig, on the north bank of the Feohanagh River, and in plan is quite unique. It consists of two chambers (*b* and *d*), which lie north-east and south-west of each other; the former being circular and the latter rectangular in plan, having a

narrow connecting passage between them. The doorway, which is in the rectangular chamber, faces the north-west; both these apartments were doubtless enclosed under one roof, but that which is circular in the plan was probably dome-shaped, while the other was gabled. Traces of walls quite as ancient as this Cloghaun are still to be observed extending in various directions from it, showing that the occupier had enclosed tracts of land either for the purpose of tillage or the greater security of cattle.

c. This interesting relic I have named a *Rath caher*. It occurs in the townland of Ballyheabought, two miles north of Dingle, and close to the main road leading to the village of Ballybrack; and is without doubt the most remarkable of the ancient *rath cahers* or forts, constructed partly of earth and partly of stone, which I have observed in the south-west of Ireland. It consists of an inner circular earthen rampart, from 12 to 14 feet thick, and 100 feet in internal diameter, carefully faced on the interior with stone, and having a narrow platform averaging 3 feet above the present level of the inner area, constructed around its entire circumference. This rampart is surrounded by a fosse, 25 feet in width at the top, and on the south side fully 20 feet in depth, measured from the summit of the rampart. Outside this fosse is a second wall of defence, 10 feet thick, also of earth, but faced on the exterior with large flag-stones; in removing the earth to construct this mound, a second but small fosse was made external to all; the ground was then gently escarped in every direction from the fort.

The entrance passage to this magnificent fortification (c) faces the west, and, crossing both mounds and fosses in a direct line, cuts through the inner mound; large flag-stones lie scattered about, and are doubtless the remains of a massive stone doorway, which was constructed in the rampart. In the inner circular area are the remains of some massive Cloghauns. The principal one is well preserved, and measures 18 feet in internal diameter, having its doorway facing the north-east: a portion of it towards the south, has been carefully separated, to form a sleeping-chamber (f); at the extreme end of which and leading due south is a low narrow passage (g), giving access to a lunette-shaped apartment (h), constructed on the exterior of the main wall of the Cloghaun and on its southern periphery.



Scale 50 ft. to 1 in.

- c¹, c², c³.* Entrance passage to area of Fort.
- d.* Entrance to principal Cloghaun.
- e.* Chamber.
- f.* Sleeping apartment.
- g.* Passage to inner chamber *h*.
- i.* Wall.
- k.* Cloghaun.
- l.* Ruins of Cloghaun.
- m.* Inner circular rampart, platformed, and faced on the interior with stone.
- n.* Deep fosse.
- o.* Outer earthen rampart, faced on the exterior with stone.
- p.* Shallow fosse.
- q.* Row of upright flag-stones.

The interior of the fort is partly divided off by a wall (i), which connects the group of Cloghauns with the rampart.

Other buildings once occupied the middle of the area of the rath, but unfortunately they are now completely in ruins.

Within 5 feet of the principal Cloghaun, and on its northern periphery, is a row of upright flag-stones (q), continuous for the distance of 25 feet, but for what purpose they were thus placed it is impossible to say.

In the Rath-caher, as I have termed it, which I have just described, the connection between stone buildings of the true Cloghaun type and the circular earth rampart and fosse is clearly exhibited. And this is not the only example of its kind in the district north of Dingle; another fortification of the same class occurs on the bank of a small stream south of the village of Tiduff, on the west slope of Mount Brandon. Have we in this blending of stone and earth architecture, the indication of a period when one style of architecture, if I may so express myself, was giving place to the other? it would indeed appear so, for in many parts of Ireland they exist in distinct classes. The ancient structures on Tara Hill are all of earth; are we to suppose that the difference in construction depended on the materials which were most readily procurable on the spot? Many examples could be adduced to show that this theory, though at first sight plausible, is not conclusive; it may, therefore, be asked, have we in early Irish architecture an age of stone and an age of earth?

That the Fahan buildings are of remote antiquity is beyond a doubt; indeed, the learned Dr. Petrie, in his *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 128, attributes the erection of the circular Cloghaun to the Firbolg and Tuatha-de-Danan tribes, who inhabited this country long prior to the introduction of Christianity. The secluded locality where these buildings exist, their solid and massive character, the rocky nature of the district which has been sparingly brought under tillage by the clearing away of surface stones, for which these Cloghauns and Cahers formed ready receptacles, adding to their bulk but preserving their ground plans, have tended to secure to us these examples of early architecture.

It is worthy of remark, that the inhabitants of the western portion of the Dingle district, still construct and use small beehive-shaped huts, not as places of residence, but for the purpose of housing lambs if on a mountain, and for pigs, poultry, and store-rooms if in a village; in the former case they somewhat resemble the ancient buildings, though much smaller and ruder in their construction, a fact which will always enable the observer to distinguish between the two; in the latter, they may be described as churn-shaped, and constructed with mud as cement: excellent examples of this kind of modern Cloghauns are to be seen at the groups of farm-houses to the west of the village of Smerwick.

In conclusion I would remark, that the architectural remains of any ancient people enable us to form a clearer notion of their social condition, than could any other evidence short of a written description.⁴ Thus it is with the ancient buildings I have described; the people who erected them were simple in their habits, yet lived in a state of constant watchfulness and mistrust, if not of absolute warfare, with their immediate neighbours; they acknowledged, doubtless, a chief, and practised warlike habits; they were not nomadic, but on the contrary given to remaining permanently settled in a locality which they carefully selected as best adapted to their state of society, their wants, and their security; it was a place therefore to which they would cling with the utmost tenacity, and of which nothing but force of arms could dispossess them; hence it is natural to infer that they were tillers of the soil, and were possessed of flocks and herds; dogs they certainly domesticated, and probably employed them in the chase. They constructed fortifications and houses of various shapes and sizes adapted to their wants and tastes. As the stones in

⁴ The Rev. Charles Graves, D.D., informed me during the meeting of the British Association in Dublin, in 1857, that he was acquainted with a Welsh poem of undoubted antiquity and authenticity, wherein was given a description of the earliest stone houses erected in Wales. It was stated that in the time of Caractacus, the Welsh cut down all their great forests in order to render their country less tenable to the invading

Romans, and as they had hitherto constructed their houses of wood, when this timber failed them they adopted the Irish form of stone houses, that of the beehive, constructed of dry masonry; a mode of building hitherto unknown in Wales. This interesting record fixes the date of the Welsh Cloghauns, and affords us strong evidence of the antiquity of that form of house in Ireland.

their buildings are laid without cement, they have been selected with care and fitted together with the greatest nicety ; but as no attempt at ornamentation can be detected in any of their buildings, and none of the stones bear the marks of dressing, it is not likely that they were acquainted with the use of metal implements for that purpose. I have mentioned that I found but one small window-loop amongst the Fahan buildings, and it must have been more a spy-hole than a window to afford light, and not a trace of a fireplace or chimney can be detected ; perhaps the fire was lighted in the centre of the Cloghaun, and the smoke made its exit through the apex of the hut, when it was left uncovered for the purpose.

The smallness of the sleeping-chambers and of the entrances leading into them is very remarkable ; indeed, this addition to the Cloghaun is a singular feature in the habits of the people who used them. Taking both into account, we may suppose that the attainment of warmth by animal heat was the chief object they had in view in their construction ; if so, it at once lowers them to the scale of the Esquimaux, whose circular *Inglöe* or stone huts closely resemble the smaller and more insignificant of our Cloghauns ; indeed, the resemblance may go even yet further, for it is likely that in many instances there were long covered stone passages conducting to the door of the Cloghaun, similar in design to the long, low, and straight stone passages, covered with sods, which lead into the winter *Inglöe*. When we consider what an important addition to our comfort is a chamber set apart for sleeping in, no matter how small it may be, we are surprised to find that so few of the Cloghauns have this important addition to them ; it is sufficient, however, to know that such was sometimes required, and we may regard this fact as evincing some degree of refinement in a people whose habits must have been most rude and simple.

I trust that this notice of the buildings on the west of the Dingle Promontory, and of the probable social position of their inhabitants, may be sufficient to call the attention of archæologists to these interesting remains. My object in preparing it has been to place upon record, in a plain and simple manner, the present condition of a class of antiquities

of which a better example is probably not to be met with in Western Europe, and which in a few years may cease to exist.⁵

GEO. V. DU NOYER, M. R. I. A.

51, STEPHEN'S GREEN, DUBLIN,
17th August, 1857.

⁵ In reply to some remarks which have reached me relative to the beehive houses of the County Kerry and other districts, especially in the west of Ireland, I feel called upon to state distinctly that, until I examined and sketched the Fahan buildings in the summer of 1856,

they had lain unknown to, or at least undescribed by any tourist or antiquary; even that acute observer and recorder of so many of the prehistoric relics of the Dingle promontory, the late lamented Mr. Hitchcock, passed them by without examination.

NOTICE OF THE BARRIER OF ANTONINUS PIUS.¹

IN this paper, I propose, first, Briefly to review the history of the ancient line of Roman fortification, across Scotland, commonly called the Antonine Wall ; secondly, To describe its present condition, and point out where the best-preserved specimens may yet be seen ; and thirdly, To notice some of the more interesting memorials, which have been discovered from time to time, along its course.

I. While in the East the Romans were engaged in the war with the Jews, which terminated in the final destruction of the Holy City, they were also pushing their conquests in the then "Far West," in regions hitherto little known. The south of Britain had felt the weight of the Roman arms sometime before, under Julius Cæsar and Claudius, but the northern portion, Caledonia, yet remained undisturbed, shrouded in the gloom of its huge forests. The conquests of the Roman generals at length carried them northward, to the threshold of this unexplored country. It was in the year 80 after Christ, that a Roman army, which had subdued most of the native tribes south of the modern Northumberland, prepared to penetrate the gloomy region in their front, called Caledonia, or "the Country of the Woods." The natives of this wild and forbidding land were divided into a number of tribes, very fierce, and almost always engaged in petty wars with each other. Numerous little hill-forts of the chiefs studded the country, and the natives lived on milk, berries, and the flesh of wild animals killed in the chase. They were scantily clad in the skins of these creatures, their bodies tattooed and painted, chiefly of a blue colour, from the juice of the woad-plant, while their long yellow hair streamed in the wind as they pursued with ardour through the dark forests, rank with jungle, and diversified with dismal swamps,

¹ Communicated to the Section of Antiquities at the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute, in Edinburgh, July 24, 1866.

the black bear, the wolf, the wild boar, and other denizens of the wilderness. They were now, however, destined to witness the approach of a foe, terrible in power, but whose desire it was, from policy, to implant among the conquered the seeds of civilisation, and thus mould them into peaceful, if not willing, subjects.

The army for the invasion of Caledonia consisted of three legions, viz., the Second (surnamed *Augusta*), the Ninth, which had suffered much in the south of Britain, and was weak in numbers, and the Twentieth, known by the title of *Valeria Victrix*. A large body of auxiliaries accompanied them. These were chiefly from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, hardy, warlike, and completely disciplined after the Roman fashion. If we estimate the Roman legion at its then average complement of 5000 men, probably the whole invading army amounted to about 20,000. The general, was the celebrated Julius Agricola, a favourite both of Vespasian, and of his son Titus, the conqueror of Jerusalem. With this force the Roman leader entered Caledonia. The weather is described as having been dreadful. During the laborious march, the light troops scoured the woods, skirmishing with the natives, who frequently attempted to cut them off in ambuscades; the numerous hill-forts on the route were stormed, and their defenders either were put to the sword, or, escaping, joined the sullen bands which slowly retired before the Roman light-infantry; while the pioneers hewed a passage through the woods for the main army, forming a road with the fallen trees. Every night an entrenched camp was formed, and sentinels carefully posted.

The course of this first Roman army is supposed to have been from the modern Carlisle northwards, through the eastern parts of Dumfries, and Lanark shires (the centre of the country); by Lockerbie, Crawford, Biggar, the neighbourhood of Lanark, and thence to Camelon, on the Water of Carron, where they wintered. Early antiquaries have traced along the greater part of this route, with sundry interruptions, the chain of night-camps which are supposed to have been then formed by Agricola.

At Camelon (long afterwards a Roman town), the invading army had arrived at the narrowest part of Britain. The neck of land, or isthmus, between the Clyde and the Forth, is only about thirty miles broad, and, as a military position,

was too important to escape the practised eye of Agricola, and his engineers. During the winter of the years 80—81, the general collected all possible information regarding the country, and resolved, during the following summer, to fortify this isthmus. Accordingly, he devoted the open part of 81 to constructing a chain of small forts or *Castella*, within short distances of each other, all the way from the one estuary to the other. These he placed with great judgment. The principal one appears to have been at Barhill (near the small town of Kirkintilloch), an elevated and commanding position, nearly in the centre of the isthmus, and from which an extensive range of country is seen. This row of forts formed the germ of the Antonine barrier, although in point of fact, that military work was not constructed for some time afterwards.

But while Agricola was thus consolidating his conquests, and imparting to those under his sway the arts of civilisation, he met with a severe loss in the death of his patron and steady friend, the emperor Titus, which affected him deeply. Domitian, the younger brother of the deceased emperor, succeeded,—dark, relentless, and cruel—a disgrace to the Roman name and to humanity. Agricola was allowed to hold his command in Britain four years longer, during which he carried his arms as far as the Grampian mountains, and sent a naval expedition to ascertain the direction and extent of the northern region. The fleet made a voyage round by the Pentland Frith, and ascertained, for the first time, the insular character of Britain. It is not necessary, for the history of the Antonine ramparts, to follow Agricola further in his northern campaigns. He was everywhere victorious, and at a great pitched battle with the confederated tribes, said to have been 30,000 strong, he completely defeated and dispersed them. The fame of his exploits, however, roused the jealousy of Domitian, who recalled him to Rome, but afraid to strike, suffered this brave man to pine out his days in ignoble retirement. His accomplished son-in-law left the Roman bar to soothe and comfort him, and beguiled the general's dreary days by writing an account of his British campaigns, drawing the information from Agricola himself, and from such of the officers as came to visit their old commander. *The Life of Agricola*, thus composed by Cornelius Tacitus, contains, probably, one of the most beautiful and

touching memorials of a virtuous but ill-requited man that is to be met with in the whole range of antiquity.

After the recall of Agricola we hear little regarding the northern portions of Britain during the reigns of Domitian and his successors Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian, a space of about half a century. No doubt, however, many stirring events took place, of which the records are for ever lost. But there are incidental allusions made by some of the Roman authors to insurrections; and we know that the war-like Hadrian came over in person, and examined the fortifications, so that he must have been in this district, in the course of his inspection of the forts on the isthmus, probably about the year 120. He brought over with him another legion, the Sixth, which thenceforth remained in Britain, with two of the original corps, the Second and Twentieth, till the Romans left the island, three centuries afterwards. The Ninth legion seems to have been withdrawn as too weak for this dangerous service.

Hadrian appears to have considered the frontier between the Clyde and the Forth too distant, and caused it to be carried back to the line of country between the Tyne and the Solway, where, as has been satisfactorily shown by Dr. Bruce, this emperor constructed the magnificent line of fortification which must now bear his name instead of that of Severus, too long and erroneously applied to it.

On the accession of Hadrian's successor, the wise and virtuous Antoninus Pius, in 138, an officer was sent over as governor of Britain, who equalled Agricola in talent, energy, and military skill; this was Lollius Urbicus. He seems to have found the northern natives very troublesome, and determined to advance the frontier again to the line of the old *Castella* of Agricola, and to fortify thoroughly the isthmus between the Forth and the Clyde. He therefore repaired and enlarged these forts, and constructed a number of new ones between them, so that at every two miles there was a fort; but instead of leaving the intervals open, without a military curtain, he caused the soldiers to dig an immense *fossa* or trench, the whole length of the isthmus, in a line with and connecting the *Castella*. This huge ditch was about twenty-seven miles long, forty feet wide, and twenty feet deep. It ran in an unbroken line, straight over hill and dale, generally, however, on the crest of a succession of rising

grounds, from the Clyde near Dumbarton, to Caeriden on the Forth, not far from the small town of Bo'ness, thus traversing part of the shires of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Linlithgow. With the earth dug out of this military trench, a rampart, twenty feet high and twenty-four feet thick, strengthened with stones and turf, was raised, close along the south or Roman side, the whole way, having a platform behind for the soldiers; to the south of all this was a military causeway, twenty feet broad, well compacted with stones in the durable Roman fashion. This road followed the line of fortification from one end to the other, and communicated with the other *viæ*, which traversed the Roman province.

The forts thus lining the rampart and *fossa* of Lollius Urbicus were eighteen in number, and, on an average, stood within about two miles of each other. Small bodies of troops, probably a centurion's guard, were posted in the minor forts; but the larger and more important were held by cohorts. They were mostly within view of each other on either side, and military signals could be promptly exchanged by trumpets and otherwise; while, in case of alarm, troops could be speedily moved along the causeway from the larger cantonments to any threatened point. The Roman names of these eighteen *Castella* have not been preserved to us, as in the case of those on the wall of Hadrian, otherwise it might have been curious to trace the Roman ideas of the different localities, &c., as probably embodied in the etymology.

The forts stood at the following places:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Old Kilpatrick (on the
brink of Clyde). | 10. Croy. |
| 2. Duntocher. | 11. Westerwood. |
| 3. Castlehill. | 12. Castlecarey. |
| 4. New Kilpatrick. | 13. Rough-Castle. |
| 5. Bemulie. | 14. Bantaskin. |
| 6. Cawder. | 15. Mumrills (near Falkirk). |
| 7. Kirkintilloch. | 16. Inveravon (near Polmont). |
| 8. Auchendavie. | 17. Kinniel. |
| 9. Barhill. | 18. Caeriden (on the shore of
the Forth). |

Of these, Nos. 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 13, and 16, were large and well garrisoned; and we know from inscriptions, that various corps of Gauls, Germans, and other foreigners in the Roman service, were stationed along the isthmus, besides the regular Roman forces.

Such was the Antonine barrier when fresh from the hands of its soldier-builders 1700 years ago ; now lonely and unheeded, but once the frontier of a mighty empire, which grasped the whole of southern Europe from the Rhine to the Danube, and sent ambassadors from its eastern limit on the Indus, to the court of the monarch of Hindostan.

The legions which constructed this formidable barrier were those already mentioned—the Second, Sixth, and Twentieth, assisted by the auxiliary cohorts. Each had a certain portion of the work assigned to it, and the working parties were protected by advanced guards from any sudden attack. The soldiers considered the formation of this fortification a meritorious undertaking, and were accustomed to erect at the end of their respective sections of the work, slabs, with inscriptions, recording the number and title of the legion they belonged to, and the quantity of work executed, which was generally a stretch of about three Roman miles. Most of these slabs were dedicated to the reigning emperor, Antoninus Pius, who was a favourite with the soldiery.

The rest of the history may be briefly told. Lollius Urbicus remained twenty years governor of the country, during which, we may well suppose, the Antonine barrier was firmly maintained against native assaults. He over-ran a large portion of the low country beyond, as far as the Moray Frith, intersecting it with roads and camps. Under his rule Roman power in Scotland attained its greatest development.

During the succeeding reigns of Marcus Aurelius and the profligate Commodus, down to A.D. 197, frequent insurrections of the natives took place ; and on one occasion the rampart was stormed, and a Roman general killed, but the insurgents were driven out of the province by a new governor hastily sent from Rome.

When the warlike Severus ascended the throne, the officer in command found everything in Caledonia so insecure, that he was obliged to write to the emperor either to come over himself or send more troops. Severus determined to visit the country in person, which he did, about A.D. 206, with a large army. Alarmed by his vast preparations, the natives sent ambassadors to sue for peace, which was sternly refused. The emperor, accompanied by his sons Geta and Caracalla, advanced in battle array, passing through the Antonine rampart

probably at Castlecary, by the great central *Iter* from the south, which led north to Stirling and beyond, carrying everything before him. Determined to root out the fierce natives from their almost impenetrable fastnesses in the dismal wilderness outside the barrier, Severus caused whole forests to be cut down, morasses to be drained, bridges built, additional roads made, and other laborious operations executed.

By fatigue, disease, and other casualties, he lost more than one half of his army : but nothing could daunt him. Though old and labouring under disease, he was carried in a litter at the head of the legions, till at length he reached the northern shores of the island. Again the natives sued for peace, which was this time granted, after they had been made to feel the weight of his power. To this day quantities of felled trees are taken out of the bogs, bearing the marks of the Roman axe, and referable to this memorable expedition.

It is extremely probable that Severus maintained the Antonine barrier. Indeed, it seems quite inconsistent with the character of this resolute old warrior, that he, a conqueror, should voluntarily relinquish his Caledonian territory, abandon the fortified isthmus of the north, and, after the enormous labour which his much-diminished army had already undergone, carry back the Roman frontier eighty miles, and impose on his soldiers the additional toil of building such a huge line of fortification as the magnificent stone wall between the Tyne and the Solway must have been. He may have repaired, but assuredly he did not build, that gigantic barrier.

The peace which Severus had concluded, was soon broken by the natives, and the enraged emperor resolved, this time, to exterminate the whole race. But while maturing his plans death overtook him at York, A.D. 210.

During the next 150 years, embracing many troubled reigns, we know little respecting Roman affairs in this country. That the wild tribes living beyond the rampart of Antoninus made continued incursions into the Roman province, may be gleaned from casual allusions in some of the later classical authors. By the year 367, these disturbances had become so intolerable, that Valentinian, a man of great military talent, who was then endeavouring at the

head of his legions to repulse the swarm of barbarians hovering round the empire, sent over his distinguished general Theodosius, who cleared the province, between the wall of Hadrian and the Antonine barrier, of the invaders, and repaired and strengthened the latter fortification, naming the district *Valentia*, in honour of his imperial master. This kept the natives in check for some time ; but the empire was fast hastening to its fall. It was hemmed in on all sides by hosts of barbarians, including the tribes of our own wild north. Twice was the Antonine fortification again repaired and re-garrisoned, viz., about 395, and 422, in the reign of the feeble Honorius, but in vain ; it had become untenable. The last time we hear of the Romans having been there, was in the autumn of the last-mentioned year. A single legion, commanded by a skilful officer from Ravenna, came up through the country by hasty marches ; and unexpectedly appearing in the district fell upon the fierce natives laden with plunder from the Roman colonists, dispersing them with great slaughter, and pursuing them a long way north. But seeing the desperate condition of the Roman affairs, this officer recommended the colohists, many of whom were old soldiers who had probably received grants of land in *Valentia*, to retire within the massive wall of Hadrian, which was still garrisoned, and abandon all northwards to the barbarians. The Antonine rampart was left to its fate, and here the curtain falls on Roman Caledonia.

II. With regard to the present condition of this venerable bulwark, I am enabled to speak, having on more than one occasion walked along its whole course, from sea to sea, and noted its appearance. When Gordon surveyed it, about 1726, and General Roy a few years later, (the results of whose inspections are embodied in their curious volumes,) the Antonine barrier remained in good preservation, notwithstanding the lapse of so many centuries. But during the last hundred years, great changes have taken place on it. What time had touched with comparatively gentle decay, has in too many instances been destroyed by the ruthless hand of man. It is, however, fortunate for Archæology, that before so much injury was done, the barrier had been carefully surveyed, mapped, and described by such competent and enthusiastic antiquaries as those we have named ; for had Gordon and Roy not made their observations at the time they did,

much of what we now know about this ancient Roman work must have been utterly lost.

The rampart and the causeway have almost entirely disappeared : the great ditch alone remains, but even this is much injured ; in the course of cultivating the land, great portions have been filled up. In fact, almost every year the work of destruction goes on. Starting from the river Clyde, hardly a vestige is to be seen for the first seven or eight miles, except a darker shade in the soil, visible only to the practised eye, aware of its course. Long intervals of this kind take place between the more distinct portions. In some places the ditch may be discovered in an old wood, entangled with briars and rank, wiry, greyish-coloured grass, which almost forbid the visitor's approach ; while tall black trees throw a sombre shadow over the spot. A few miles farther on, the trench is probably met with again on a dreary track, its sides well clad with vigorous whins, difficult to thread ; or passing a solitary cot, built of old-fashioned grey stones of brick-like shape, evidently brought from ancient ruins, the ditch skirts the cottager's little garden, wattled round, through which the white rose or the wallflower exhales its simple perfume. After another great interval, there may be observed, on a bleak hill-side, a huge seam, leading down to a lively rivulet, over which a few old trees creak to the blast, and where the plover with shrill cry starts from her hidden nest. Then again the trench is lost in cultivated fields, but still traceable by a deeper shade in the waving grain, or the sweetly scented clover, as if unwilling to relinquish till the very last its hold over that soil which has so long owned its sway.

The name by which the ditch is universally known among the peasantry, is "*Graham's Dyke*" or "*Graham's Sheugh*." They regard it with a certain air of mystery ; it has been there, they say, time out of mind ; it has outlived all local tradition ; none amongst them can tell who the men were that dug it, where they came from, or for what use it was intended. It is looked upon by some of the older folks as "*uncanny*," the work of wizards, and in certain of its wildest and most "*eerie*" places, it is said to be haunted, rendering a visit to it in the gloaming, or after nightfall, a very undesirable, if not rash, step : strange unearthly cries and uncouth sounds, they say, are heard from it on stormy nights ; nay, it

is confidently affirmed that those who have good eyes may see the Prince of Darkness flitting about "the Sheugh" in moonlight with some of his evil ones, in search of mischief, and ready to pounce upon the unwary.

Probably the best-preserved specimens on the whole line, are at Elf-Hill, on the moor of Bonnieside, about a mile and a half beyond Castlecarey, and in the enclosed grounds of Mr. Forbes of Callander.² But minor fragments, within a few miles of Glasgow, are to be seen on Fergustonmuir, on the road to Milngavie, about half-a-mile beyond Canniesburn toll-bar (which is the first distinct piece of the ditch that occurs, starting from the Clyde), at the farm of Bemulie (one of the wall-forts), on the estate of Cawder, belonging to Mr. Stirling, M.P. for Perthshire; at the Barhill; and on the eminence of Upper Croy, near the railway station of that name.

Of all the eighteen *Castella* scarcely a vestige remains. The only one worth noticing is at Kirkintilloch (No. 7 of the list), where two sides of the flanking-ditch exist, fully twelve feet deep, on the property called "The Peel" (an ancient name for a stronghold), belonging to Mr. Charles Stuart.

I have seen, with much regret, portions of the *via militaris* taken up at different points; and I observed that it was composed principally of small round stones, probably gathered off the adjoining ground, rammed compactly, within a border of larger ones deeply planted in the earth. The work-people had much difficulty in dislocating and rooting out these ancient fragments. A small piece exists on Mr. Haggarts's property of Bantaskin, near Falkirk; and in the village of Laurieston, adjoining the latter place, the course of the *via* is indicated by a narrow street, called "Graham's Dyke-street."

III. But, while the line of this once-important fortification is so greatly destroyed, many memorials of its ancient builders survive in good preservation. In the course of ploughing and cultivating the land, numbers of the inscribed slabs before alluded to have been discovered, erected by the soldiers to record the quantity of work which they had executed. One of these has the name of Lollius Urbicus cut

² Near the town of Falkirk; and on the slopes at Inveravon, not far from the railway station of Polmont.

upon it. Altars have also been turned up, dedicated to Jupiter, Minerva, Mars, and Hercules ; to Mercury, the Patron of Highways and Messenger of Jove ; to Fortune, and Victory ; to the God of the Woods, the Genius of Britain, the Nymphs, and other deities of the Roman mythology. Sepulchral slabs to "the *Manes*" of soldiers slain in battle, have also been revealed ; and a place is pointed out near the great *Castellum* of the Barhill, where, in a deep hollow, the dead were deposited, as indicated by groups of small sepulchral slabs, well remembered by old people, but long ago torn up and dispersed. Discoveries have, moreover, been made of some of the heavy iron hammers used in breaking the stones, much battered ; soldiers' sandals ; groups of stone bullets, about the size of the modern six-pound shot, to be thrown by the military engines defending the rampart (these last were found carefully gathered in small conical heaps, like those of our artillery) ; great quantities of Roman pottery, finely glazed, and of beautiful colours, including vases, amphoræ, bowls, and lachrymatories, some of them with the makers' names upon them ; stones for grinding wheat : nay, large quantities of that grain itself, apparently charred, were found in what had been a subterranean granary, in one of the *Castella* (Castlecarey) ; hones, for sharpening the soldiers' knives, with a notch for the thumb, smooth as velvet and much worn ; a number of large iron nails, several inches in length, with broad heads, probably for securing the soldiers' tents, very much resembling those described by my friend Dr. Bruce as having been found at several places along the wall of Hadrian ; and an elongated slab, representing a Roman archer shooting a deer entangled by the horns in a thicket. Two of the wells that supplied the garrisons of the *Castella* at Cawder and Auchendavie, have preserved their stone frames and have water still in them. I am in possession of a variety of the memorials that have been rescued from destruction ; and amongst others of a very interesting one, a stone which had fallen probably from a Roman officer's finger-ring, representing a figure sacrificing at an altar, well cut, and still yielding a good impression in wax ; it was found in one of the *Castella*, beside the Roman bullets. Coins have also been discovered, at almost all the forts, of gold, silver, and brass, beginning with Vespasian, and ending with Honorius, though with gaps in the series.

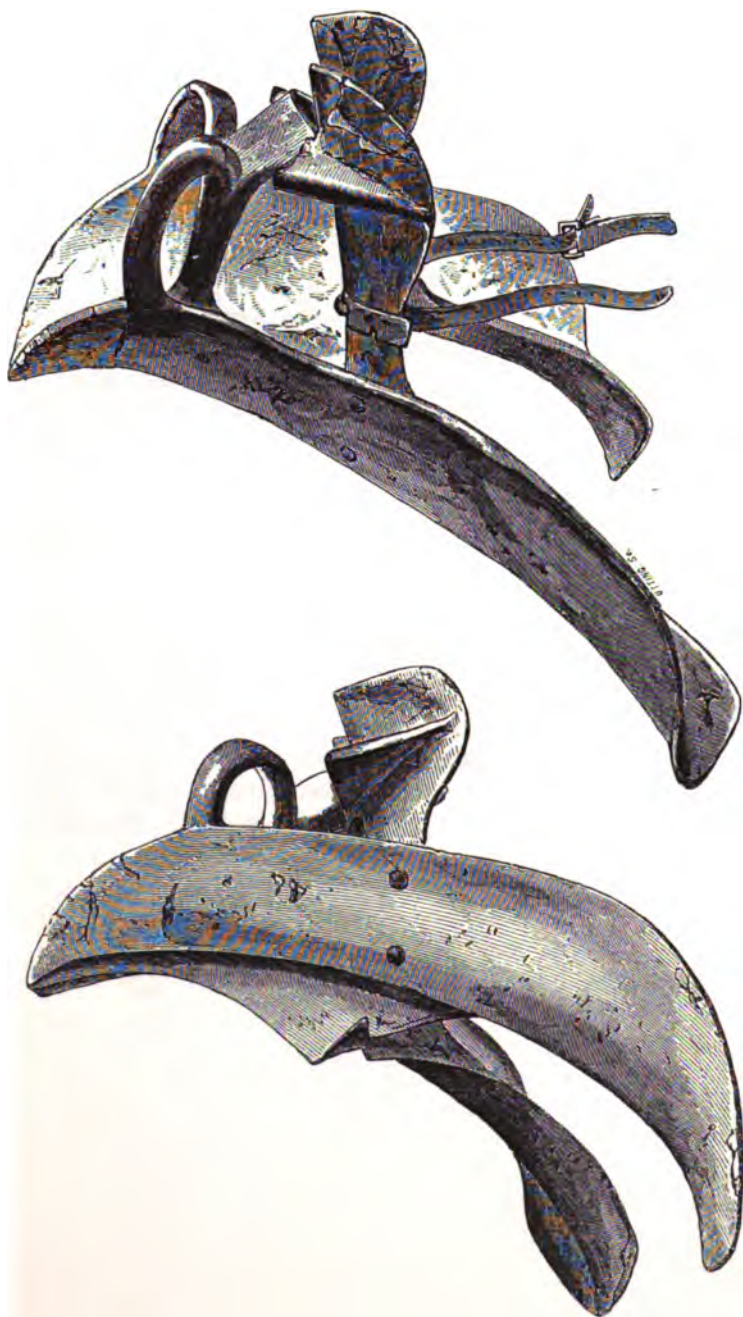
Of all these curiosities, which are preserved partly in Glasgow College and partly in private collections, the inscriptions are the most interesting ; for, independent of what they record, we there see the Roman Alphabet precisely the same as that now used by ourselves—an imperishable legacy by old Rome to modern Europe, introduced into our native north for the first time by the soldier-builders of the Antonine wall.

Fourteen hundred years have since run their course ; and when we look back across that broad interval of dim time, how many vicissitudes have taken place in our native land ! But this ancient memorial of “the Masters of the World” still lingers there, a visible link between the present and the mighty past. Though now hoary with age, disguised under an uncouth name, and shrunk into the disjointed fragments above noticed,—the wonder of the ignorant peasant, and an object of attraction only to the curious,—this remnant of remote antiquity has a claim to national interest, not only as an important historical monument, but as marking the epoch when Caledonia first became known to the civilised world. The ravages of time have done much, but the ruthless hand of man continues to do more, towards hastening its destruction. But so long as it remains on the face of Scotland, its ancient renown will entwine the last crumbling vestige, and after all trace shall have utterly passed away, history will consecrate its track.

JOHN BUCHANAN,

Member of the Philosophical and the Archaeological
Societies of Glasgow.

15, BUCKINGHAM TERRACE, GLASGOW,
July, 1856.



German Tilting Saddle in the Tower Armory.

Height, 3 ft. 11 in.

NOTICE OF A GERMAN TILTING SADDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY, RECENTLY ADDED TO THE TOWER COLLECTION.

THE saddler's art in the Middle Ages was far different from what it has become in our own days, when the highest baron or the noblest dame in the land is content to ride forth on a seat made of a plain strip of leather and a few iron nails. In the old time, embroidery, carving, painting, gilding, and even precious stones, gave to this part of a knight's appointments a splendour not exceeded by any other portion of his costly equipment. When reading in old inventories of horse-furniture adorned with pearls, weapons mounted with diamonds, helmets surrounded with sapphires and emeralds, we are at first tempted to believe that these were but mock jewels; yet, on reflection, the probability of the accounts and the reason of the practice become apparent. In those days, when property was stored up in plate and jewels, the wealthy knight or squire looked upon his "*ailettes frettées de perles*," and his "*baudrier harnaché d'or et orné de pierreries*," simply in the light of investments.

The ancient Germans, as we learn from Cæsar, did not use saddles in their warfare. "Neque eorum moribus turpius quicquam aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti: itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audent."¹ The Anglo-Saxons, when we obtain pictorial representations of them, are found in the possession of saddles, which, however, are mere pads; and from some of them hangs a sort of tufty fringe, which has been supposed to represent the skin of an animal.²

In Beowulf, we read of a horse bearing "a saddle variegated with work, made valuable with treasure: that was the war-seat of a lofty king, when the son of Healfdene

¹ De Bello Gall., lib. 4, c. 2.

² Good examples occur in Cotton MS., Claudius, B. iv.; one of them engraved in Strutt's Horda, vol. i. pl. xvii. The fine manuscript of Prudentius, in the

Tenison library, furnishes us with several illustrations of this kind. The Anglo-Saxon saddle, with a plain edge, appears in the Cotton MS., Cleopatra, C. viii.

would perform the game of swords." *Canto* 15. In 605 we find recorded a charter of Ethelbert, King of Kent, which furnishes another example of the enriched saddle. He gives to the church of St. Augustine "Missurum etiam argenteum, scapton aureum, item sellam cum fræno aureo, et gemmis ornatam, speculum argenteum, armilausia oloserica, camisiâ ornatam, quod mihi xenium de domino papa Gregorio sedis Apostolicæ directum fuerat, quæ omnia supradictæ ecclesiæ gratanter obtuli."³ It will be seen by the illuminations we have mentioned, that the saddle was provided with a girth, breastplate, and crupper, the latter being fixed to the sides of the saddle: pendent ornaments are attached to the crupper and breastplate. Real stirrups of this period have been procured from the graves. They are of a single piece, having a loop for the attachment of the leather.⁴

In early Norman times, we find the saddle formed on a frame, with high pommel and cantle: the Bayeux tapestry furnishes many examples. In frequent instances, the front and back take the form of volutes, after the manner of Ionic capitals. The girths are fastened to the panels. See Plate 3 of Stothard's series. In Plate 4, a saddle has a zig-zag edge, something like the borders of those in the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts before noticed. The high pommel and cantle may be seen also in the seals of William the Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry I.⁵

In the twelfth century a novelty appears—the saddle-cloth. This is found in the second seal of Henry I., in the seal of King Stephen, and in that of Louis VII. of France. In these examples it is quite plain; but in the seals of Conan, Duke of Brittany,⁶ c. 1165, and of Henry II., it is of an ornamental character. All the royal seals of this century may be consulted for minor details; but the second of Richard I. is the most curious, as showing the manner in which the warrior was supported in his seat.⁷ The peytrel, at this time, is furnished with pendent ornaments, of a circular form—probably small globular bells. We obtain some light on the mode of ornamenting saddles in the XIIIth century

³ Kemble, *Codex Dipl.* No. iv.; *Monast. Ang.* 1, 24. A plain edged saddle appears in *Cott. MS.*, *Tiber.*, B. v., an Anglo-Saxon calendar. It is engraved in *Strutt's Horda*, pl. xii.

⁴ See *Worsaae's Copenhagen Museum*,

p. 95, and *Bähr's Livonian Graves*.

⁵ Compare also the curious carved church-door engraved in *Worsaae's Copenhagen Museum*, p. 103.

⁶ *Harl. Charter*, 48, G. 40.

⁷ *Carlton Ride Seals*, H. 17.

from the work of Theophilus, the monk, "*De diversis Artibus*." In his instructions to saddlers, he says, "*Sellas autem equestres. et octoforos, id est, sellas plicatorias, scabella, cæteraque, quæ sculpuntur, et non possunt corio vel panno cooperiri, mox ut raseris ferro, fricabis asperella,*⁸ *sicque his dealbabis, et cum sicca fuerint, rursum asperella planabis. Posthæc in circino et regula metire, et dispone opus tuum, videlicet imagines aut bestias, vel aves et folia, sive quodcunque pertrahere volueris. Quo facto, si decorare volueris opus tuum, auri petulam impones.*"⁹ The same writer tells us that the saddles of ladies should be embellished with images of birds, beasts and flowers, wrought in gold or silver: "*Eodem modo, potes in auro et argento facere imagines super libros evangeliorum et missales, et bestias atque aviculas ac flores super sellas equestres matronarum exterius.*"¹

From Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath and Chaplain to King Henry II., we learn that battle-scenes and cavalry fights were among the subjects most in favour with the knights and their saddlers. Censuring the effeminate manners of some of the military class of his time, he writes: — "*Bella tamen et conflictus equestres depingi faciunt in sellis et clypeis, ut se quadam imaginariâ visione delectent in pugnis, quas actualiter ingredi aut videre non audent.*"²

The rich materials, that were employed for saddles during this century, appear from passages in some of the romances of the time.³ In "*Atis et Prophelias*," written about 1160:—

D'Ivoire furent li archon
Bordé de pierres environ.

In "*Girard de Vienne*," composed about the same period:—

Des seles furent tuit doré li arçon,
A flors, a bestes pointuré environ.

In the thirteenth century we find representations of these ornamented saddles; the part of the saddle selected for decoration being the hinder portion of the panel and the back of the cantle. In the seal of Alexander II. of Scotland,

⁸ Shavegrass.

⁹ Lib. i. c. 23, Ed. Hendrie.

¹ Ibid. lib. iii. c. 78: *De opere ductili quod sculpsitur.*

² Petri Blesensis Opera. Epist. 94, Ed. Giles.

³ Laborde, Notice des Emaux du Louvre, Glossaire, *Arçonnières.*

1214, the panel is ensigned with a lion rampant, the same device being on the shield also.⁴ An analogous instance is furnished by the seal of Robert Fitz-Walter, c. 1298, the silver matrix of which is preserved in the British Museum. In the *Lives of the Offas*, a manuscript of this century (Cott. MS., Nero, D, II.), on folio 7, is the figure of Offa the First: his bearing is a saltire, which appears upon the shield and back of the saddle.

Saddles with armorial bearings are frequently mentioned in documents of this century. In the *Roll of Expenses*⁵ for the Tournament held in Windsor Park in 1278, we find an account for saddles, which appear to have been purchased at Paris from Felis le Seler. The account is given in French money. From it we select the following items, the cost being given in the English money of the period. Eight saddles, "*de armis Angliæ*," at £2 each; four saddles for coursers, at 17s. 6d.; twelve others, at 15s. Four saddles, "*broudatae de filo auri et argenti tracto: videlicet una de armis Roberti Tibetot, una de armis Johannis de Neele, una de armis Imberti Guidonis, et una de armis Comitis Cornubiæ*," amounting together to £22, or about £5 10s. each. The most expensive saddle was, however, one "*broudata eodem modo de armis Johannis de Grely cum scalopis argenti*," its price £9 10s.

In the *Account of Expenses of John of Brabant and Thomas and Henry of Lancaster*, for 1292—3, edited by Mr. Burtt, for the Camden Society,⁶ we also find mentioned armorial decorations and the prices of the saddles, the latter varying from 10s. to 13s. 4d. :—

"*Computus Remondi de Bourdeaus: Pro duabus sellis in Nativitate Domini ultimo preterita pro Johanne et Anfrido de armis domini Guidonis Ferrei, xxxs. Item de eodem pro sella simili domini Johannis de Duz, xiijs. iiijd. Item pro sella dextrarii pro Johanne, de eodem, cum clipeo domini Godefridi de Brabantia, xvjs. Pro sella cursoris de eodem cum eodem clipeo, xiijs. iiijd. Item de eodem pro sella altera cursoris cum armis domini Edmundi, xiijs. Item de*

⁴ Cotton Charter, xix. 2.

⁵ Printed in *Archæologia*, xvii. p. 306.

⁶ Camden Miscellany, vol. ii.; see also an account of this curious document communicated to the Archaeological Institute by Mr. Hudson Turner: *Proceedings*, March 3, 1848. "*Johannes et Anfridus*," were John of Brabant and Humphrey

Bohun, probably the eldest son of the fourth Earl of Hereford, who appears to have been the companion of the young prince. "*Dominus Edmundus*" was Edmund Crouchback; "*Thomas and Henry*," his two sons, successively Earls of Lancaster. For a notice of Sir Guy Ferre, see *Arch. Journ.* xi. 375.

eodem pro duabus sellis de armis domini Thome Paenel de festo Penthecostes nunc instante pro Johanne et Anfrido, xxs. Computat Reymondus de Bordeus pro iiij sellis ad palefridos emptis pro Thoma, Henrico, Domino Galfrido de Langelee et Domino Alano de Wandesseph, xlvjs. viij*d.* . . . Pro ij sellis ad cursores, de armis Comitis Sabaudie, xxiiij*s.*"

The very curious volume, edited by Depping, containing the trade regulations of Paris in the XIIIth century, abounds in information on the subject now before us. We can only venture to give one or two of the more striking rules for the "Paintres et Séliers de Paris."

"Nus ne puet estre séliers à Paris, ne vendre sèles garnies de cordouan, s'il n'achate le mestier du Roy.

"Nus séliers ne puet coudre bazane avec vache ne avec véel pour nul fournement, ne nule mennière de poil avec bourre, quèle que elle soit.

"Nus ne puet paindre de couleur à or sèle derrière, se elle n'est couverte de fin or, c'est à dire, d'or sanz mesleure d'argent, que en apèle *or parti*: mès l'arçon devant puet-il paindre de ce que li plera."

From this paragraph we see that the place of honour was the outside of the cantle (of which more anon); but why the saddler should be permitted to lavish his roguery on the pommel does not so plainly appear.

"Nul ne puet mestre en sèle ne en escu chose emprintée ne enpastée, ne ieteiche d'estain, se ce n'estoit, &c.

"Li séliers apèle chose *emprainte* ou *empastée* ou *ieteteiche* d'estain, quant aucuns fet euvre par molles, et puis celle chose mollée atache à colle seur l'arçon: quar toute euvre enlevée (*relevée*) doit estre faite de plâtre à pincel, et sur la sèle et sur l'escu."

The mode of producing this moulded work is clearly described by Theophilus, lib. 3, c. 75.

"Nus sélier ne doit sèle tainte garnie livrer devant que èle est (*ait*) esté vernicié, se ce n'est sèle dormant," &c.⁷

The arçon of a saddle of the close of the XIIIth century, carved in pear-wood, is still in existence, and exhibits the mode of decorating by carving the *back of the cantle*. It formed part of the Debruge collection, and is now in the possession of Mr. Evans, at Paris. It has been engraved in the

⁷ "Règlements sur les Arts et Métiers de Paris, ou Livre des Métiers d'Etienne Boileau." Paris, 1837. Titre 78, p. 206.

Handbook of M. Labarte, and reproduced at p. 417, vol. xii. of this Journal.

A very good representation of the saddle of the XIIIth century will be found on folio 27 of Harl. MS. 3244. It is there composed of a raised pommel and cantle, the panel being of square form, and bordered by a fringe. The poitrail is sometimes plain, as in the first seal of Hen. III. (Harl. Charter, 43, C. 38) : in other examples it has the pendent ornaments noticed as occurring at a previous period. In plate 37 of the Painted Chamber, the pattern is a string of golden trefoils. The royal seals of this century may be consulted, but do not present any novelties.

In the fourteenth century we find the same kind of saddle as in the last.⁸ The use of armorial bearings on the cantle was continued. A manuscript⁹ of the time furnishes an instance, in which the shield and cantle of a knight are both charged with a cross.

The elaborate ornamentation of saddles prevailed throughout this century. In the expenses at the marriage of Princess Blanche of Bourbon to the King of Castile¹ in 1352, we find an account for a litter made for the princess. Among the items occur, "pour le hernois de 2 chevaux, selles, colliers, avalloueres et tout ce qui y appartient pour le dit hernois, fait de cordouan vermeil, garnis de clos dorez, et les arçons² devant et derrière pains de la devise de la dicte litière,"—that is to say, with the device of the Princess Blanche.

In 1376, Sir Marmaduke Constable, knight, leaves as his mortuary, "optimum equum meum cum cellâ deauratâ prout solebam equitare."³

In 1397, we have richly ornamented saddles made for the Duchess of Orleans by Jehan de Troyes, the King's saddler :—"une riche selle de broderie à chevaucher . . . et le harnois fait de broderie et clouez de cloz d'or fin

⁸ Good examples occur in Roy. MSS., 20, D. i., and 20, B. xi., in the bas-reliefs of the tomb of Aymer de Valence (Stothard, pl. 49), and in Add. MS. 12228, the Romance of Meliadus.

⁹ Roy. MS., 19, B. xv.

¹ Douët D'Arq. "Comptes de l'Argenterie des Rois de France au 14^e siècle," p. 297. Paris, 1851.

² According to Du Cange (voce *Arctio*), who quotes Salmasius, this part of the

saddle was so called from its curved form—"Arciones vocamus ab arcu, quod in modum arcus sint incurvi." Du Cange likewise quotes a grant of the year 1301 to Adam de Vallemont, by the service of providing annually for the king "duos arcones ad sellam vacuos, unum videlicet armis nostris Francie communibus, et alium armis Clodovei regis predecessoris nostri depictos."

³ Testamenta Eboracensia, vol. i. p. 97.

et faiz sembles a soulays et a treffles volans par dessus et les carrefours esmailliez de turterelles dorées de fin or et le mors et les estriers de haulte entaille."⁴

Among the numerous specimens of ancient leather-work collected from excavations in London by Mr. Roach Smith, and now deposited in the British Museum, are several pieces of horse-furniture of various kinds. The most interesting of these are two portions of saddles, both apparently of the XIVth century. One of them is of embossed work, representing scrolls of foliage interspersed with animals and monsters of various kinds. The other, which is somewhat later in date, is engraved with running patterns, and retains a portion of its original colouring. Attached to it is a case for a knife, likewise of leather.⁵

But in the XIVth century, two new and very curious features appear in some of the military saddles. They are made so high in the seat that the knee of the rider is on a level with the horse's back. Instances of this fashion occur in the figure of Sir Geoffry Louterell,⁶ and in the statue of St. George at Basle, given by Mr. Cruikshank in the *Journal of the Archæological Association* for 1857. The second feature to which we have alluded consists in carrying the pommel and cantle so far round the knight's person, that they touch each other, or fairly become one continuous rail. The earliest example we have seen of this mode is that given by Hefner (Trachten, Part II., pl. 8), from a chronicle written and illustrated about 1350. The front of the saddle in this miniature is represented as forming a shield for the leg as far as the ankle. The metal ewer figured at page 114 of Worsaae's "*Copenhagen Museum*," supplies an analogous instance. And another is furnished by the figure of St. George, on the triptych of the Madonna di Rocca Melone, preserved at Susa; a notice of which was communicated to the Institute by Mr. Nesbitt, and the figure engraved in the last volume of this *Journal*, page 207. Into a saddle of this kind the knight must have crept from the back of the horse.

In the fifteenth century we obtain a real specimen of this singular type. It is represented in the plate at the head

⁴ Accounts of the Dukes of Burgundy quoted in Laborde, *Notice des Emaux du Louvre*: Glossaire, sub voce *Selle*.

⁵ See Mr. Roach Smith's *Catalogue of*

London Antiquities, Nos. 619, 620, pl. xi.

⁶ Engraved in *Carter's Sculpture and Painting*, pl. xiv., and in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. vi.

of this article, from the original, formerly in the collection of the Baron de Peuker of Berlin, and now deposited in the Tower of London. It will be seen that in this example the rail is quite continuous; and, when fixed for the encounter, the champion would be carried forward rather in a standing than a sitting posture. This specimen receives the most striking illustration from the drawings given in Hefner's "Trachten," Part II., pl. 138; one of which we have copied, so far as it bears upon our inquiry. The subject is a



Saddle from Illumination, 1471.

tournament with rebated swords and cudgels, and is especially valuable from being dated. The date is 1471. There are four figures in Hefner's plate, and all have the saddle joining in its fore and after parts: little bells are appended to the hind rail in two of the subjects, and the whole design is full of curious details.

The Tower example is formed of wood, covered with hide, and partially with canvas; then comes a coat of *gesso*, and

upon that there has been painting. The front measures in its greatest length, 3 ft. 11 in. There is a distance of ten inches from the saddle proper to the seat of the knight.

In King René's "Tourney-book," c. 1475, we have a provision for the tilt, much resembling the defence here shown; but in this case the saddle-shield and the peytrel are in one piece. "Ce hourt est fait de paille longue entre toilles fort porpointées de cordes de fouet; et dedans le dit hort y a un sac plain de paille, en façon d'un croissant." This forms a pad to defend the horse's breast. "On couvre le dit hort d'une couverture armoyée des armes du seigneur qui le porte," &c. Drawings both of the hourt and the *sac* are given in pl. vii of the "Tourney-book," and other drawings show the appearance of the courser when fully equipped.

The characteristic of the ordinary war-saddle of the fifteenth century is, that it overlaps the thigh of the rider in front, and rises moderately high behind, always permitting the knight to sit well down on his horse.⁷

At the close of the fifteenth century, but more frequently in the sixteenth, appears a new kind of tilting saddle. The saddle itself is made low, because in the tilt for which it was employed, the chief object was to thrust the adversary out of his seat over the horse's haunches; but fastened to the front of it was a defence of plate which completely covered the leg of the champion as low as the calf. This appendage was sometimes made permanently fast to the saddle; sometimes it was attached by straps only. It is named *Beinschiene* and *Knieplatte* in the German Tourney-books. An early example of it occurs in the picture of a tourney at Innspruck in 1496, engraved by Hefner, Part II., pl. 109 of the "Trachten." It again appears in the Tourney-book of William of Bavaria, published by Schlichtegroll, and from another copy of this curious volume, in Hefner's plates, 89 and 90. Other instances occur in the *Triumph* of the Emperor Maximilian. A real specimen is preserved in the Dresden Gallery.

In the sixteenth century we find a modification of the old leg-shield with peytrel, already noticed in the preceding

⁷ For the usual war-saddle of this time, see Harl. MS., 4431, fol. 114; Harl. 326, fol. 13; Roy. MS., 18, E. iv. fol. 292; Cott. MS., Nero, D ix. fol. 39 and the War-

wick Pageants, from the Rous Manuscript, Julius, E. iv. engraved in vol. ii. of Strutt's Horda.

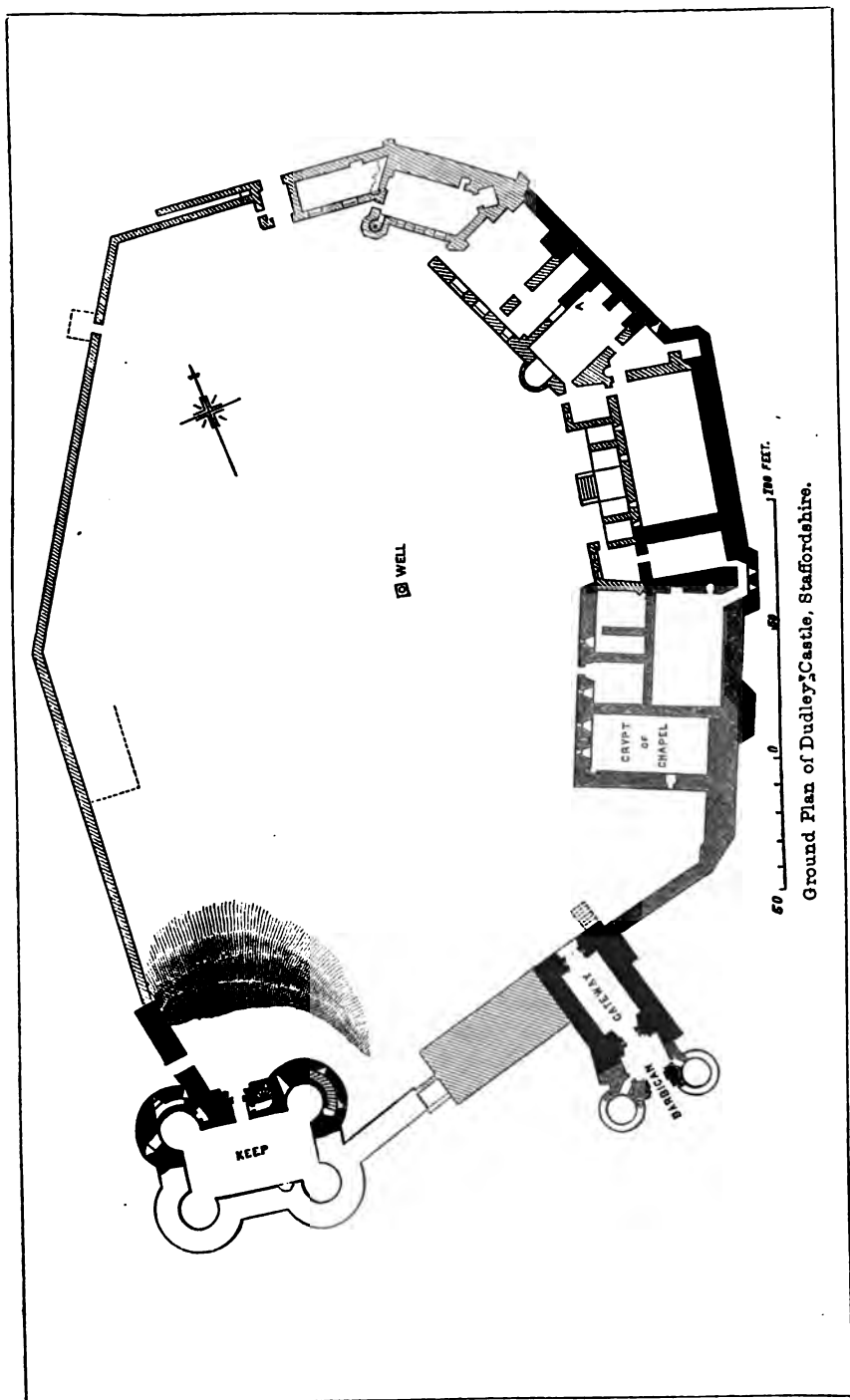
age. It now consists of one piece, protecting the horse's breast, and the knight's body from the waist downwards. This contrivance appears also in the *Triumph* of Maximilian and the *Tourney-book* of Duke William; and again in the *Kunstbüchlin* of Jost Aman, 1578, cuts 121 and 229. In some cases the defence is not covered by any mantling; in others it has a covering, with heraldic devices, and terminated by a border hanging free and fluttering in the wind. The name of this tilting-piece was in the German *hohes Zeug*, which the French writers render *Haute barde*.

The ordinary war-saddle of the XVIth century differs but little from that of the XVth. Good specimens appear in the *Tournament Roll* of Henry VIII., preserved in the *Heralds' College*, in Hefner's plate 115, and in Jost Aman, cuts 185, 231, &c. The "*selles d'armes*" of the *tourney roll*, having no riders upon them, show very exactly the construction and ornamentation of this part of the horse-furniture. One of them has been given in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, with the usual fidelity of the artist. A fine embossed plate of steel, inlaid with gold, which had formed the arçon of a saddle in the middle of this century is in Lord Lonsborough's collection. It was exhibited to the Institute in February, 1856. See vol. xiii. of this Journal, p. 181.

The war-saddle of the seventeenth century is well shown in Captain Cruso's "*Militarie Instructions for the Cavallrie*," published in 1632. The engraving has been copied by Grose.

In compiling this short account, it has not been attempted to give a complete history of *the Saddles of the Middle Ages*. Indeed, the writer can only hope to be excused for the insufficiency of his work by the consideration that, in a thousand instances, the masterly treatise which all the world admires has been suggested by some crude essay which all the world has forgotten.

JOHN HEWITT.



NOTICE OF THE CASTLE AT DUDLEY.

ON the summit of a richly wooded hill which rises on the north-west side of the town stands the Castle of Dudley. Its ruined keep, as it towers above the thick and scarcely penetrable foliage, forms a pleasing and striking contrast with the highly practical character of the surrounding country. Although no part of the castle is of very great antiquity, and although its annals form comparatively but an insignificant item in the history of the Middle Ages, there is, nevertheless, much of archæological interest, not only in its architectural detail, but also in the fact of its presenting an example of a fortified structure erected during a period proverbially poor in this class of buildings. It is, therefore, with this view that I have endeavoured in the following remarks to draw attention rather to the building itself than to attempt any elucidation of its records; the few historical notices here given being collected from works already published.¹

The first castle is said to have been erected during the Heptarchy—upwards of five centuries before the earliest portions of the present ruins were raised—by a certain noble named Dudo, or Dodo. The last Saxon possessor was Earl Edwin, from whom it was taken soon after the arrival of the Conqueror, and, together with numerous other manors in the county, given to William Fitz Ausculph, one of his followers. Upon his death, the castle with the manors attached to it, came into the possession of Fulk, son of Ralph Paganel, but whether by marriage or by royal grant does not appear. Ralph, the son and heir of Fulk Paganel, was the next possessor, and to him may be ascribed the foundation of the Cluniac Priory, whose ruins are so picturesquely situated on the western side of the Castle-hill. For although the monastery was not actually commenced till the reign of Henry II., c. 1161, its erection was, never-

¹ A descriptive and historical account of Dudley Castle was published by the Rev. Luke Booker, LL.D., Vicar of

Dudley, 1825. See also Shaw's History of Staffordshire, Camden's Britannia, &c.

theless, owing to the will of Ralph, the fulfilment of which his son Gervase had delayed until the turbulent times occasioned by the war between Stephen and Matilda—in which he held the castle against the former—had subsided, and the son of Maud had ascended the throne. Gervase having incurred the displeasure of Henry, the castle was demolished in 1175 by order of the King. Yet he retained possession of the manors, and two years subsequently payed to his sovereign the sum of 500 marks as a fine. Upon his death in 1195, John de Somery became possessed by his marriage with the heiress Hawise. It then passed to his son and heir, Ralph, on whose death in 1210 it descended to his eldest son, William de Somery, who died in 1222, leaving his son, Nicholas, in wardship. He dying (1229) without issue, the property fell into the hands of his uncle Roger, the second son of the last-mentioned Ralph. It was during the life of this first Roger de Somery that the present castle was commenced. It appears that he had not been in possession more than four years when a writ of seizure was issued at Wenlock, to hold the honour of Dudley and all the lands of the recusant baron for the King's use, in consequence of his refusing to appear before the King to receive the honour of knighthood. About thirty years after this we find him rebuilding the castle, and restoring it to its former strength. Most accounts agree that it was in the year 1261 that the work was commenced, but that the King prohibited it from being carried on without his special license, which he granted in 1263, in consideration, it is said, of Somery's adherence to the royal cause during the Barons' war, having been taken prisoner at the Battle of Lewes. He died in 1273, seised of the barony, and was buried in the priory. Those parts of the castle which were erected in his time are very clearly distinguishable from the later works; they consist of part of the keep, the great gateway, and a small portion of the *cingulum* or wall of enceinte. Of the same date is a fragment of an arch (marked A on the plan), that appears mixed up with the masonry of one of the internal walls of the domestic apartments; the hood moulding has been cut away to allow the plaster to be laid on. It will scarcely be necessary for the purpose of this paper to trace much further the genealogy of the various possessors. On the decease of Roger de Somery the castle descended to his

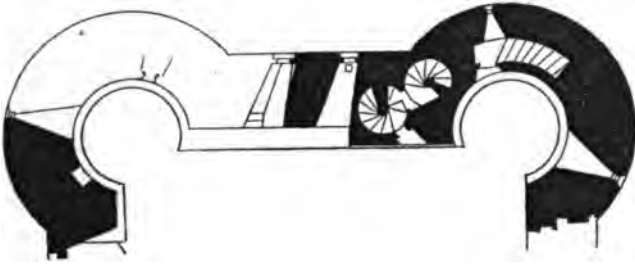
son Roger, by a second wife, whose eldest son, dying in his minority, it came into the possession of his second son, John, after whose death without issue in 1321 the estates were divided between his sisters, Margaret and Joan. The castle and town of Dudley, with the manors of Sedgeley and Kings-Swinford, and the chase of Pensnett, were assigned to Margaret, and by her transferred to her husband, John de Sutton. To him the erection of the barbican may be referred, but whether the building of the chapel took place during his life, or that of his son, is a subject for conjecture; the death of John de Sutton having occurred about the time that the later decorated or "curvilinear period" commenced. From the form of the doorway, and the character of the mouldings (if this part is original), I should be more inclined to consider it the work of the son who died in 1360.

From this time the builder's hand seems to have been comparatively idle; no further remains existing of an earlier date than the portions erected during the nefarious possession of John Dudley, Lord L'Isle, afterwards Earl of Warwick, and Duke of Northumberland. At his attainder and death in 1553, the castle and its estates devolved to the crown. By this means the Sutton family again became possessed; Edward, the son of the last of that name, being in favour with Mary, who granted it to him and to his heirs. To the Earl of Warwick may be referred the greater part of the later additions, whilst a few remains may be seen of a still later date, exhibiting marked and characteristic features of the Italian school. There also exist portions of the fortifications constructed by the royalists, as a further means of defence during the parliamentary war, at which time this castle held a somewhat prominent position, being one amongst the few which were maintained by the King until nearly the close of the struggle: not having surrendered before the 13th of May, 1646. Upon its capitulation, Sir William Brereton ordered it to be dismantled, but only so far as to render it incapable of receiving a garrison. The domestic or habitable parts of the building were destroyed by fire in 1750.

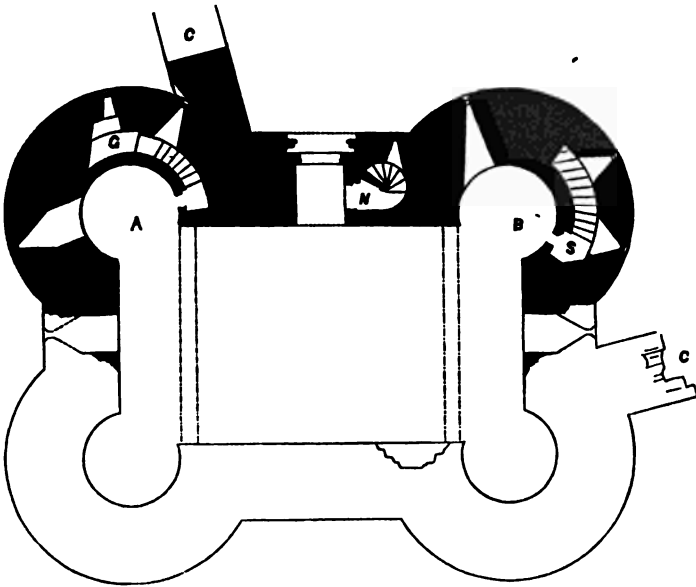
We will now proceed to examine the architecture and plan of the structure. The area of the castle is contained in an irregular polygon, enclosed by walls on every side. The greater part of the moat has been filled up, but on the west side it exists comparatively perfect. At the south-

west angle stands the keep, in the plan of which we recognise the type of the concentric, or Edwardian fortification : going eastward, in a north-east direction, we pass a fragment of the "Early English" wall, and some of the later buildings which lie between the keep and the principal gateway. Attached to the last-mentioned building are the interesting remains of the barbican. At a short distance farther on, at an angle of the enceinte, is the commencement of the domestic apartments. These occupy the whole of the eastern side of the bailey, and terminate in the chapel to the south, and the postern westward. Returning to the keep, which is raised on an artificial mound, we find it consists of a central parallelogram of two stories, with circular angle towers rising one story above the centre (see plans of each). The entrance is on the ground floor on the north side, under a segmental pointed arch of three orders, with continuous imposts, and provided with holes for the stockade of timber, and with grooves for a portcullis—a somewhat unusual occurrence. Immediately within the gate on the east side is a segmental-headed doorway, leading to a spiral staircase (N) constructed in the thickness of the wall, which forms the only means of approach to the battlement, and which communicates with the upper floor of the central part of the keep : from this level a second staircase commences, which appears to have been entirely used as an approach to the battlement of the north-east tower, the other having originally led to the battlements of the central division and the north-west tower. On the ground floor of the tower A (see plan of keep), a pointed-headed doorway leads to a wall staircase (S) 3 feet wide, communicating with the second story through a concave corbel-headed doorway. At this level there is a set-off in the wall, apparently for the supporting timbers of the floor to rest on. The parapet of this tower and the upper part of the staircase which led to it, have been destroyed ; in the opposite tower (B) the general outline is, however, still retained. The merlons are unusually lofty and pierced by cross billets with trefoil terminations. The upper room is provided with a fireplace, and a square-headed window with convex corbels in the place of the scotarch. The ground floor of the tower has also a staircase, which leads to a garderobe (G) lighted by a small circular window, which appears to have been originally quatrefoiled. The corbels

DUDLEY CASTLE.



Plan of the First Floor of the Keep.



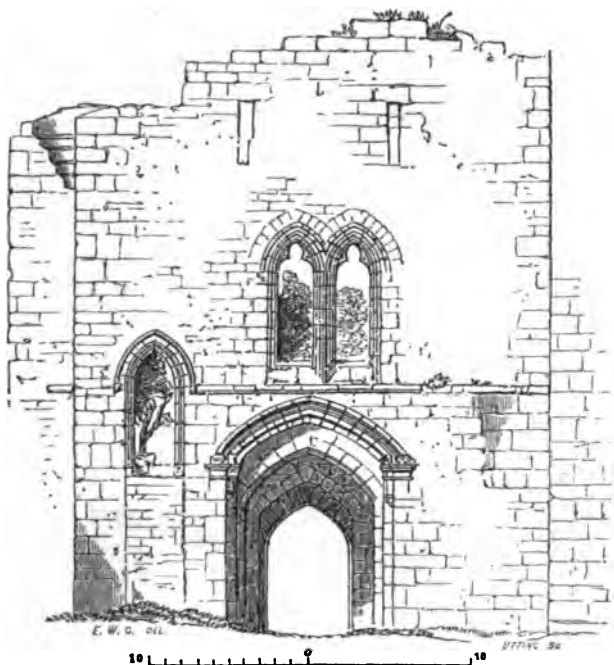
Ground Plan of the Keep.

Scale, 24 feet to 1 inch.

- cc Early English walls.
- G Garderobe.
- N Stairs to battlement.
- s Stairs to First Floor of Tower B.

for the support of the principal timbers of the central roof may still be traced. The chief apartment seems to have been lighted on each of the four sides by two single-light windows. Those on the north side are square-headed, with segmental pointed scoinson arches, moulded in a bold and effective manner. The east windows seem to have been similarly treated, with the exception of having segmental pointed heads on the outside. A few of the smaller windows of the keep are pointed and trefoiled with the plain soffit cusp; but the majority are square. The whole of the south side of the keep, with its towers, and the greater part of the curtain walls, east and west, are nearly level with the ground.

The great gateway, which consisted of three stories, is of

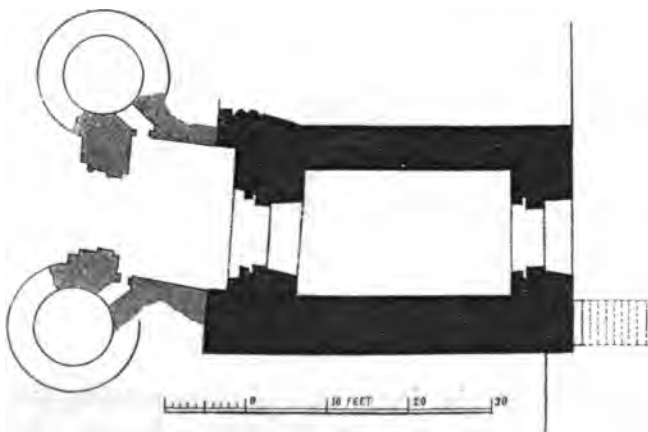


Inner side of Gateway, Dudley Castle.

the same date as the keep, and of corresponding strength, the inner, as well as the outer archway, being provided with

the portcullis groove : the former is consequently of a somewhat singular construction. The gates themselves having to open towards the court, necessarily required a rear vault, the strange novelty of which, not to mention the unsightly appearance of such an arrangement, has in this instance been judiciously treated by throwing across the opening an effective scoinson arch supported on short pillar corbels, and surmounted by a bold and well-moulded label. The outer arch of the gateway (see woodcut) is of three orders, moulded similarly to the keep entrance, and, like that, of a segmental form. It has, however, the addition of a hood-mould, with terminations composed of the usual trefoil foliage of the period. The wall in which this archway occurs is placed, as will be seen by the plan, somewhat out of the square, the better to command the western approach : this irregularity is still more obvious in the plan of the barbican. The upper part of the gateway was approached by an exterior flight of steps (shown dotted on the plan), and entered through a pointed-headed doorway, having well moulded and continuous jambs, and a simple hood-moulding. The apartment with which this communicates has a two-light, or more correctly speaking, a double window, divided by a moulded pier or mullion ; the heads appear to have been cusped. Above this, nothing remains beyond a portion of the narrow lights, or loopholes, of the upper floor, and the corbelling of the bartizans.

The barbican, with its lofty archway flanked by circular



Plan of the Gateway and Barbican.

towers is an interesting example of this peculiar feature in fortification, though it is much to be deplored that the ravages of war and time should have left it such a ruin. Of the towers, the foundations only are to be seen, whilst the "high-lifted" and delicately-moulded jambs of the outer order of the arch support nothing but the luxuriant moss or thriving weed, "— gray, but leafy walls, where ruin greenly dwells." The inner order of the arch is yet standing. It is of a very depressed three-centred form, but the mouldings are good and characteristic. From one of the towers a communication with a subterranean passage was discovered some years since, but it was blocked up soon after the discovery was made known. From an examination of the moat and the foundations of the gateway and barbican, it would seem, that when the latter was added, the course of the water was changed so as to surround the new work, and that consequently the drawbridge occupied the somewhat unusual position of being in advance of the barbican; while it is not improbable that the old moat may have been left dry, and that over it there may have been a second drawbridge between the barbican and great gateway, and that the doors in the angles of the towers communicated with open passages running parallel to the bridge.

We come now to the remains of the chapel, the most interesting feature of which is the west window,

" ——— hollow in the centre,
Shorn of its glass of thousand colourings,
Through which the deepen'd glories once could enter,"

but yet not so completely desolate, but that we can discern sufficient to enable us to form some idea of its former state. It appears to have been of three lights trefoliated, the crown of the heads of the lights reached to the springing of the window arch, which is equilateral, and contained three sexfoliated equilateral spherical triangles. The hood-moulding terminates at the springing of the lights. Immediately under the sill of the window is a stringcourse, which continues, uninterrupted, as far as the doorway in the south wall, where, although it is level with the impost, it is abruptly broken off, and the hood-moulding of the doorway carried round perfectly distinct. This, together with the form of the arch, which is ogeed, and the character of its moulded jamb,

would induce the opinion that the doorway is the work of a later period, the only entrance being originally from the domestic apartments. The crypt underneath the chapel requires little comment : it is entered from the south, and lighted from the west by two narrow square-headed openings. There have been various conjectures respecting the use to which it was appropriated, but that of its having been a place of sepulture seems the most probable. The domestic apartments immediately adjoining the chapel are of the same age, the stringcourse which passes under the chapel window continuing at a lower level along the west wall, until abruptly broken by the insertion of a late square-headed window. The remaining buildings are principally debased perpendicular, with here and there an addition of gothicised Italian of the very plainest character. There are, however, in the bay-window, features, which, although they have little intrinsic merit, present at least in their bold and picturesque character a pleasing contrast to the stiff square mass of building surrounding it. Upon the west-side of the bailey, some slight traces of building (foundation walls, corbels, &c.) may be seen, but they do not possess any features worthy of notice.

EDWARD WILLIAM GODWIN.



Umbo of a Roman Shield, found at Matfen, Northumberland.
Diam. 8 in.



Inscription punctured on the rim of the Umbo.
Full size.

ON BOSSES OF ROMAN SHIELDS FOUND IN NORTHUMBERLAND
AND LANCASHIRE.

THE interesting relic represented in the accompanying illustration was found in the parish of Matfen in Northumberland, a little to the north of the Roman Wall ; the nearest station being Halton Chesters, the Hunnum of the Notitia. It was discovered about three feet below the ground by some labourers, who, supposing it to be the lid of a pot containing treasure, turned up half the field in hopes of finding the remainder. It was exhibited to the Institute by Dr. Charlton, in December, 1857.

Its form, as will be seen, is circular, the convex portion being nearly hemispherical, and the flat rim pierced with four holes. The boss has no ornaments excepting a few engraved circles ; on the rim are the traces of an inscription executed in punctured dots. From the present condition of the surface, it is difficult to ascertain the exact form of the letters, for the "pot lid" was hung up in the farmer's kitchen, where it received a weekly scouring, and owing to this, or to previous corrosion, the metal is covered with minute holes, which are easily confounded with the punctures of the letters. Indeed I feel some doubts whether the artist has not included in the woodcut some of these accidental holes. The inscription has been read DON SP IOVINTI ; on examining the original, I felt nearly certain that the termination is QVINTI, and that the whole inscription might possibly read O RVSPi QVINTI, the first character being the centurial mark, and the sense being either "the centuria of Ruspian Quintus," or "of the centurion Ruspian Quintus."

This umbo is not the only one which has been discovered in England. About the year 1800 a boss was found at Garstang in Lancashire, which passed into the collection of Mr. Towneley, and is now in the British Museum. It is identical with the Matfen *umbo* in material, form, and size, and has also four holes in the rim, but it differs in being

covered with elaborate devices engraved in outline.¹ Though much oxydised, the convex portion still exhibits a warrior seated on a throne or ornamented stool, and wearing a helmet with a flowing crest; in his right hand, which is raised, he holds a lance; in his left apparently a small globe, surmounted by a bird resembling a goose or swan. The flat rim is likewise ornamented: on the upper part is a Victory seated by an altar; on the lower another Victory seated between two eagles with globes; at the sides, opposite each other, are naked male figures with spears; between these and the Victories are trophies, each formed of an oval shield crossing an octagonal one. The workmanship is evidently late Roman.

It is difficult to fix with certainty the personage delineated on this boss. Mars is rarely represented as seated, though a painting of his throne may be found among the frescoes at Herculaneum. On the other hand, Jupiter, whom the figure resembles in some respects, is not usually represented in armour. It may, however, be some topical form of one of these divinities, or possibly of Romulus, to whom altars were dedicated in Britain. The nearest resemblance to the design is to be seen on the reverse of a medallion of Constantine the Great, where a figure apparently of the emperor, seated on armour, and holding in his left hand a lance, is supporting in his right a globe, surmounted by a phoenix, which he has received from a soldier bearing a trophy. The legend is GLORIA SÆCVLI VIRTVS CAESS.²

The shields of the ancients varied considerably at different times; the early Greek shield was circular, and of large size; it had a convex surface nearly flat in the centre, and rising abruptly at the sides from a narrow flat rim; the outside was ornamented with various devices, which were probably painted. The Etruscan shield was somewhat similar, but sloped gradually towards the rim from the centre, where there was a low boss, more for ornament than use; the surface was sometimes covered with patterns in low relief. The Romans probably adopted in early times the Etruscan form, but appear to have found it inconvenient for warfare, and retained it only for votive and ornamental

¹ This umbo is engraved in Whitaker's "History of Richmondshire," vol. ii. p. 457.

² Buonarroti, Osservazioni sopra alcuni Medaglioni, xxxiii. fig. 2.

purposes. They are said to have borrowed from the Sabines a peculiar form of shield, the *scutum*, called by the Greeks *θυρεος*, from the similarity of its quadrangular form to a door, *θυρα*. Polybius, in describing the Roman army during the third Punic war, thus speaks of the *scutum*:³—"The armour of the Romans consists firstly of a shield (*θυρεος*), $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide in its curved surface and 4 feet long . . . It is formed of a double layer of boards fastened together with glue and linen. Its external surface is covered with calfskin, and its upper and lower margins bound with iron, to enable it to bear sword blows, and to prevent it from decaying when resting on the ground. An iron boss (*κογχος*) is then fastened to it, to resist the blows of stones and the violence of weapons of various kinds."

The form of the *scutum* is shown in several monuments, and resembles the half of a cylinder divided longitudinally. The boss mentioned by Polybius is rarely visible. This shield was chiefly confined to heavy-armed troops, and must from its size have been of considerable weight. One of its principal uses was in forming the *testudo*, a mode of attack which is represented in the Antonine column, and which Dion⁴ tells us was formed thus:—"The cavalry and light-armed being placed in the centre,—such of the heavy-armed who have long hollow tile-shaped shields (*ταῖς προμήκεσιν ἄσπισι ταῖς κοίλαις ταῖς σωληνοειδεσὶ χρώμενοι*) are placed on the outside, forming a kind of tile-work with their shields; those who have broad shields (*πλατείας ἄσπιδας*) hold them up over their heads, so that nothing but shields is visible throughout the phalanx."

During the Imperial times we find both the *scutum* and the *clipeus* in use, the latter, however, oval in form, and with a projecting boss. In the bas-reliefs on the Trajan and the Antonine columns, we find numerous representations of shields. In the former, recording the conquests of Trajan over the Dacians, we see the Roman soldiers armed with both kinds, some few, probably German auxiliaries, have the long octagonal shield generally seen on trophies of that nation. The Dacians have oval shields differing little from those of their opponents, but the bosses are less prominent. On the Antonine Column, representing the victories of Marcus Aurelius over the Germans, we find chiefly soldiers

³ Polybius, lib. vi. 23.
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⁴ Dion Cassius, lib. xlix. cap. 30.
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of the Twelfth Legion called Fulminatrix. Their shields, principally oval *clypei*, but occasionally *scuta*, are ornamented with thunderbolts, in allusion to the name of the Legion. Their enemies have either oval or octagonal shields. In most of these representations the *scutum* has scarcely any boss, while the oval shield has a prominent circular one towards the centre ; there can be little doubt, therefore, that the objects under consideration originally belonged to oval *clypei*.

The limits of this notice will not allow us to enter into the devices on ancient shields, which Vegetius calls *δαιμνατα*. It will be sufficient to mention the use of inscriptions on shields, which may throw some light on the Matfen *umbo*. It was not unusual to inscribe the name of the commander, for we learn from Hirtius and Dion Cassius, that the partizans of Pompey in Spain (B.C. 48), wrote his name on their bucklers, and on renouncing him, erased it.⁵ So, likewise, we hear of Sextus Pompey's name on shields,⁶ and of Cleopatra's on those of the Roman guards.⁷ The most important notice, however, is that given by Dion Cassius⁸ in his account of the Dacian campaign of Domitian, from which we learn that the general Julianus ordered the soldiers to inscribe on the shields their own and the centurion's names, so as to be recognised if they behaved especially well or ill. This probably became the rule, as Vegetius⁹ tells us, that on the front (or back) of each soldier's shield was to be written his name, and the cohort or century to which he belonged.

Such may have been the origin of the curious inscription on the umbo found in Northumberland, which may possibly have belonged to some Roman soldier slain in a skirmish with the wild tribes to the north of the wall.

AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.

⁵ Hirtius De bello Alex. cap. 58, 59 ;
Dion Cassius, lib. xlii. cap. 15.

⁶ Dion Cassius, lib. xlviii. cap. 30.

⁷ Dion Cassius, lib. i. cap. 5.

⁸ Dion Cassius, lib. lxxvii. cap. 10.

⁹ De Re Milit. ii. 18. The doubt as to the part of the shield which was inscribed, depends on whether we read *averso* or *adverso* : the latter seems the more reasonable.

Original Documents.

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS BELONGING TO THE COLLEGE OF ST. MARY, WINCHESTER, IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.

THE catalogues of Mediæval libraries, especially of our own country, form a subject well worthy of the attention of persons who take an interest in the state of learning and literature in early times. The following catalogue is taken from the original register of the College of St. Mary, near Winchester, where it is still preserved. It appears from internal evidence to have been drawn up in the latter part of the reign of King Henry V., and to have had additions made to it from time to time, but not, to any extent at least, later than the latter part of that of Henry VI.

Perhaps a somewhat greater degree of interest may belong to this catalogue, when it is considered, that it shows us the books, which were thought most suitable to a society, the first of the kind founded in this country, in which the educational department, if I may so say, held so prominent a place. For while its wise and prudent founder provided most amply for the due performance of divine service, it is well known that the chief end he had in view was the instruction and education of youth; foreseeing probably that the time would shortly come, when the church would require, and the interests of true religion would be best promoted by, the advancement of useful and religious learning. In these days, in which the physical and mathematical sciences, and the knowledge of "common things," as the phrase is, take so prominent a part in education, the following catalogue of the books of one of the principal educational establishments in England, at that time, will probably provoke a smile. But we may be sure that they were the best that could be procured; and it is evident from the prices of the books, which are generally added, and are to be estimated by the then value of money and the comparative rate of expenditure, that no expense was spared, either by the founder himself, or by the college or its numerous and liberal benefactors, in providing the society with books. In proceeding to give a brief outline of the contents of this catalogue, I shall speak of them in the order, and according to the classification adopted in it.

First, of the books provided for the use of the chapel, there were four ordinals, valued at 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; thirteen antiphonaries (five of which are described as ancient), valued at 63*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; fourteen portiphories, of which nine are described as ancient, four of them being in the hands of the scholars; and one "Jurnale," not valued. Of the portiphories one is spoken of as the gift of John Fromond, and was probably for the use of the Chantry Chapel founded by him in the cloisters, which is the building now used as the library. From its description the MS. must have been a costly book, but no value is stated. Another, bequeathed to the college by John Yve, a fellow, who died in 1432, which was to lie before the senior fellow standing in the upper stall on the right of the chapel, is priced at 20*l.* The value of the whole was 48*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* The legends

were six, five ancient, three of which were for the use of the scholars ; they are all valued at 15*l*. There was a collectary worth 1*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. ; two "gradualia," one worth 1*l*. 10*s*., the other not valued ; four manuals valued at 3*l*. ; sixteen processionalis at 10*l*. 7*s*. 4*d*. ; fourteen "gradalia," four ancient, with which is classed a book "de cantu organico, ... ex dono domini fundatoris," price 6*s*. 8*d*. ; making in all 29*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. One pontifical and two epistolaries : the pontifical was the gift of the founder, and cost 2*l*. ; the epistolaries are valued at 3*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*. Thirteen missals, of which the founder gave four ; another was the gift of Thomas Nevyle, prior of the Cathedral ; another was bequeathed by Simon Membury, treasurer of William of Wykeham, and supervisor of the works of the college ; two others were for the use of the scholars ; another was designed especially for the use of those who slept in the third chamber ; another was the legacy of Nicholas North, some time fellow of the college : the last is not priced ; the value of the rest was 69*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. One of those given by the founder was especially costly, being priced at 20*l*.

We come now to the class of theological books. Of bibles there were five : one the gift of the founder ; another of John Campden, master of St. Cross ; another was given by Richard Crymok, formerly a fellow, for the use of one of the fellows, on condition of praying for Crymok's soul and the souls of John and Joan (probably his parents), according to indenture between the warden and the user ; another was given by Robert Heete, a fellow, a very liberal donor of books, and was also to be used according to indenture as the last. This shows the great care which was taken of these copies of the sacred Scriptures ; and yet their value was not so great as might have been expected ; it was only 16*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

Next follow "Doctores super Bibbliam." Of these there are only twelve : among them are two works of de Lyræ, and one of Odo Parisiensis, still in the library. But of the ancient fathers of the Church Chrysostom on St. Matthew is the sole representative. The value of them all amounted to 23*l*.

There was one copy of the Master of Sentences (Peter Lombard), priced at 1*l*. 10*s*.,¹ and two commentators on the same, viz., a work of Bonaventura and one of Peter of Tarentum(?), value 1*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. Then follow two historical works, "Magister Historiarum," price 1*l*. 10*s*., and "Speculum Historiale," valued at four marcs. We next have the Psalter with glossaries, of which there were four, and two commentators on the Psalter, viz., Petrus Præmonstratensis, and Richard Hampole. With one of the Psalters were bound up another copy of the "Magister Historiarum," the Pastoral of Gregory, and the Chronicon Cestrense. Two of these books are not priced ; the value of the other was 6*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*. The "Libri Augustini" follow, of which there are only four. With these is classed Arnoldus "de sex verbis domini in Monte." One volume is very miscellaneous, containing the Dialogue of Augustine, and a treatise of St. Bernard "de præcepto et dispensatione," a treatise on the Life of St. Edward the Confessor, and the Life of St. Hugh. The principal works of Augustine contained in this collection were that "de doctrina Christiana," and the commentary on the Psalms, in three volumes. These two are not priced ; the value of the others was 1*l*. 13*s*. 4*d*.

¹ No less than 160 authors in our own country wrote commentaries on the

Sentences, or "Summa Theologica," of Peter Lombard. Pits gives a list of them.

The next class of books is entitled "*Libri Gregorii.*" They are five in number ; one is the Homilies of Gregory on the Gospels, with some smaller tracts ; another on Ezekiel ; the other three are the Morals ; but all are abridgements. One of these contained also a certain chronicle of the Kings of England, and a book, "*de moralisationibus Volucrum et Bestiarum,*" called *Bestiarius*. This is not priced ; the value of the other four was 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

We find next a Class of Books, intitled "*Libri Morales diversorum doctorum.*" These are much the most numerous class, comprising as many as thirty-nine volumes. Many of them, however, contained several works of a very miscellaneous character. For example, in one volume the following were bound up together, Innocent on the misery of Man's condition, "*cum numerali,*" an arithmetical work, as I suppose, by William of Leicester, called *de Monte* ; the Chronicles of Martin on the Trojan war ; an Itinerary (probably that of the author next mentioned) ; a tract of Giraldus Cambrensis on the notable things in Britain and Wales ; a tract on the punishments and origin of Pontius Pilate, and Judas Iscariot ; and one on the praise of Origen. Another miscellany is still more remarkable : it contained Alexander (Necham ?) on the training of little boys ; a treatise on the natures of stones, (one of the few books on natural history in the library) ; certain verses by Peter of Blois on the praises of wine and beer ; and a tract on Patrick's Purgatory. In another a treatise on the game of Chess was placed with divers stories of the Virgin Mary, and matters relating to the vices and virtues. Under this head also is one of the most interesting books of the whole collection. It is entered in the catalogue "*Liber continens vitam Sancti Thomæ Martiris, ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2º folio, -neficiis,*" and valued at 20*s.* This is one of the only three MSS. still in the possession of the college, which can be identified as having been given by William of Wykeham. It is not contained in the collection published by Dr. Giles. I am informed that it is in all probability the work of Benedict of Canterbury. It well deserves to be collated. In the MS. itself the work is called "*Passio gloriosi Martyris Thomæ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi iij. Kal. Januarii.*" This fills scarcely more than a fourth of the volume. It is followed by "*Secundum opus miraculorum gloriosi Martyris Thomæ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi.*" Six of these books are not priced ; the total value of the remainder was 33*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

The next class is entitled "*Libri Chronici.*" There are only three books in it ; but two of these were gifts of the founder, and are still in existence. One of them is a *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* of all the Churches in England, being probably a copy of the *Valor* of Pope Nicholas. The other is a copy of the Chronicle of Ralph Higden of Chester ; but it is to be remarked that this book is entered in the catalogue by the title of "*Polychronicon Willelmi Cestrensis, ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2º folio, Tantæ.*" This key-word enables us to identify it with a MS., still preserved in the library, which is beyond all question a copy of Ralph Higden's work. How comes it then to be assigned in the catalogue to William of Chester ? I think the solution of this question may be found in the fact, that in this MS. Higden's work has been continued from A.D. 1343, where his chronicle ends, to the accession of Richard II., a period of thirty-four years. I have examined this portion of the MS., and though I must confess that it does not throw much additional light upon the history of the period, yet I

consider it to be a document of considerable value, as being evidently contemporary. And we may assume that it had the sanction and approbation of one who played no slight part in the events of that time, the great and good William of Wykeham. The end of Higden's work is marked in the MS. by the words, "Hoc usque scripsit Ranulphus." There is also a short chronicle at the beginning of this MS., headed by the words "Incipit Cronica bona et compendiosa de regibus Angliæ tum a Noe usque ad hodiernum diem;" that day being the day of the coronation of Richard II. We may fairly conjecture, I think, that these additions to Higden's Chronicle were the work of William of Chester, whoever he may have been; and that on this account the whole work has been assigned to him by the compiler of the catalogue. It is worthy of notice that Arabic numerals are used throughout this MS. It is also remarkable for a curious map of the world. Its value is set down at 2*l*.

The class, "Libri Philosophiæ," is a blank. The next is that of "Libri Juris Canonici;" under which come first "Decreta et doctores super decreta." Of these there are five works; one is not priced, the other four are valued at 9*l*. 10*s*. Then follow the Decretales, of which there were nine; eight are valued at 16*l*. 10*s*., one alone costing 10*l*. Next come Liber Sextus and two Doctors, price 1*l*. 10*s*.; then two copies of the Clementine Constitutions, with comments, price 2*l*. 10*s*. Then there is a class of books called "Summæ et alii tractatus diversorum doctorum Juris Canonici," consisting of seventeen volumes; the total value of sixteen being 14*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. Then follow the Books of Civil Law, four in number, of which the value was 2*l*. 10*s*.. Last come the "Libri Grammaticales," of which there were nineteen; among these is to be found the only work of classical antiquity that was in the library. It was a copy of Virgil bound with three others, viz., a book in verse, subject not specified; a treatise by John Garland; and a Hymnal with a Gloss. Seventeen of these books were valued in the gross at 20*l*. 8*s*. 8*d*. It appears that the Library was well furnished with the best grammatical works, and the most approved glossaries of the times.

In the original catalogue both Roman and Arabic numerals occur; the latter being used to designate the 2nd or 3rd folio, the first words of which are, as usual, given to identify the MS. The language is much abbreviated, but it is here printed in *extenso*, with the exception of the word Pret', and a few other words, chiefly such as may be doubtful.

LIBRI COLLEGII BEATE MARIE PROPE WINTON.

Ordinalia.

In primis, j. ordinale, emptum anno regni regis Ricardi secundi xviii^o, 2^o folio, *Ad finem*, Pret' xl. s. Item, duo alia ordinalia antiqua, 2^o folio primi, *Infra adventum*, 2^o folio secundi, *ventus*, Pret' xx. s. Item, j. ordinale secundum verum usum Sarum, ex dono magistri Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *Montibus cum*, Pret' xxvj. s. viij. d.

Antiphonaria.

Item j. magnum Antiphonarium, 2^o folio, *ni venerit*, emptum, Pret' x. li. Item, aliud Antiphonarium, 2^o folio, *debeamus*, ex dono domini Fundatoris, Pret' ix. li. x. s. Item, aliud Antiphonarium, 2^o folio, *-la seculorum*, ex ordinatione ejusdem, Pret' viij. li. Item, aliud Antiphonarium, 2^o folio,

tunc sacerdos, ex ordinatione ejusdem, Pret' viij. li. Item, aliud Antiphonarium, 2º folio, *tegente eripi*, ex ordinatione ejusdem, Pret' viij. li. x. s. Item, aliud Antiphonarium, 2º folio in rubro, *qua ad matutinas*, ex ordinatione ejusdem, Pret' vij. li. Item, aliud Antiphonarium, 2º folio, *-tato dicat*, ex ordinatione ejusdem, Pret' v. li. Item, aliud Antiphonarium, 2º folio, *donec veniat*, ex ordinatione ejusdem, Pret' iiij. li. Item, v. Antiphonaria antiqua, 2º folio primi, *matutinas*, pret' xx. s., 2º folio secundi, *Invenisti*, pret' xij. s. iiij. d., 2º folio tertii, *Iræ suæ*, pret' x. s., 2º folio quarti, *linguis suis*, pret' x. s., 2º folio quinti, *Amor*, pret' x. s., ex ordinatione diversorum ; Pret' lxij. s. iiij. d.

Portiphoria.

Item, j. Portiphorium notatum cum clapsulis argenti, 2º folio, *Constancias*, ex dono domini Fundatoris, Pret' x. li. Item, aliud Portiphorium, ex dono magistri Johannis Elmer, 2º folio in rubro, *Hoc modo*, Pret' viij. li. Item, aliud Portiphorium antiquum, ex ordinatione domini Fundatoris, 2º folio in rubro, *in ipsa dominica*, Pret' iiij. li. Item, aliud Portiphorium antiquum, 2º folio, *-to ut præconio*, ex ordinatione ejusdem, Pret' xxx. s. Item, alia iiij. Portiphoria antiqua remanentia in manibus scolarium, 2º folio primi, *-ani retia*, pret' x. s., 2º folio secundi, *-vitati tue*, pret' vj. s. viij. d., 2º folio tertii, *exaudi*, pret' vj. s. viij. d., 2º folio quarti, *Itaque Silvester*, pret' iij. s. iiij. d., ex ordinatione diversorum ; Pret' xxvj. s. viij. d. Item, alia iij. Portiphoria antiqua, 2º folio primi, *Andreas*, 2º folio secundi, *Tugurium*, 2º folio tertii, *Qui regnaturus*, pretium cujuslibet per se vj. s. viij. d. ; Pret' xx. s. Item, j. Portiforium magnum, ex legato domini Johannis Yve, nuper socii istius Collegii, ad jacendum coram socio seniore stante ex parte dextra in stallo superiori, 2º folio, *E. incipientur*, Pret' xx. li. Item, j. parvum portiforium, ex dono magistri Roberti Heete ad usum sociorum missorum in negotiis Collegii, 2º folio, *super nubem*, Pret' xx. s. Item, jurnale ex dono domini Johannis Yve, 2º folio post kalendarium, *diligunt*, Pret' . Item, j. magnum Portiforium ex dono Johannis Fromond armigeri, 2º folio, *spiritum sanctum*, cum clapsulis de latton deaurato cum armis ejusdem Johannis, Pret' .

Legendæ.

Item, una Legendæ cum clapsulis de cupro deaurato, 2º folio, *Quia dixerunt*, emptæ, Pret' x. li. Item, ij. legendæ antiquæ, j. de temporali, et alia de sanctis, 2º folio primæ, *Epulis*, 2º folio secundæ, *translatio*, ex dono domini Fundatoris, pret' cujuslibet xl. s. ; Pret' iiij. li. Item, iij. aliæ legendæ antiquæ remanentes in manibus scolarium, 2º folio primæ, *quæ opera*, pret' vj. s. viij. d., 2º folio secundæ, *-catorum*, pret' vj. s. viij. d., 2º folio tertię, *michi dominus*, pret' vj. s. viij. d. ; Pret' xx. s.

Collectarium.

Item, j. Collectarium cum clapsulis argenteis, 2º folio, *vitio mortuorum*, emptum, Pret' xxvj. s. viij. d.

Graduale.

Item, j. Graduale, 2º folio, *Ira mea*, emptum, Pret' xxx. s. Item, j. Graduale parvum, ex dono Thomæ Baylemond, 2º folio, *-tis non patieris*, Pret' .

Manualia.

Item, j. Manuale magnum et novum, 2^o folio, *et ipsum*, emptum, Pret' xxx. s. Item, aliud parvum Manuale, 2^o folio, *admiratio*, Pret' xvj. s. viij. d. Item, aliud Manuale, ex ordinatione Roberti Heete ad usum ejusdem dum steterit in Collegio, 2^o folio, *Dum invictæ virtutis*, Pret' xij. s. iiij. d. Item, j. Manuale ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *ut habeant*, Pret' x. s.

Processionalia.

Item, j. Processionale cum clapsulis argenteis, 2^o folio, *Plantare*, Pret' xxvj. s. viij. d. Item, aliud Processionale, 3^o folio, *procedens*, Pret' xij. s. iiij. d. Item, alia duo Processionalia, 3^o folio primi, *Custodi*, 3^o folio secundi, *Accipias*, pret' cujuslibet xij. s.; Pret' xxiiij. s. Item, viij. alia Processionalia, 2^o folio primi, *In redeundo*, 3^o folio secundi, *radix*, 2^o folio tertii, *Ex te*, 2^o folio quarti, *vocabitur*, 2^o folio quinti, *Et quod*, 2^o folio sexti, *sanctum*, 3^o folio septimi, *descendet*, 2^o folio octavi, *Mariam*, pret' cujuslibet x. s.; Pret' iiij. li. Item, aliud Processionale, 2^o folio, *deus qui*, emptum, Pret' vj. s. viij. d. Item, aliud Processionale, ex dono Willelmi Smith de Lekford ad usum unius socii, 2^o folio, *Nequitia*, Pret' xx. s. Item, aliud Processionale, ex ordinatione Roberti Heete ad usum unius Capellani tempore servitii divini, dum tamen idem Robertus habeat usum ejusdem libri dum steterit socius in Collegio, 2^o folio, *suis Apostolicis*, Pret' xx. s. Item, j. Processionale magnum, ex dono ejusdem Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *-vicens ad*, Pret' xvj. s. viij. d.

Gradalia.

Item, unum Gradale magnum, 2^o folio in rubro, *Temporibus*, emptum, Pret' iiij. li. Item, aliud Gradale ejusdem magnitudinis, 3^o folio in rubro, *Ut in missis*, emptum, Pret' iiij. li. Item, iiij. alia Gradalia, 2^o folio primi, *Et dicatur*, 2^o folio secundi, *Temptantis*, 2^o folio tertii, *sux supradicta*, 2^o folio quarti, *Quatuor temporum*, pret' cujuslibet lvj. s. viij. d.; Pret' xj. li. vj. s. viij. d. Item, aliud Gradale, ex legato magistri Joannis Aylward, 2^o folio, *-orum quarum*, Pret' liij. s. iiij. d. Item, duo alia Gradalia, empta, 2^o folio primi in rubro, *omnibus dominicis*, 2^o folio secundi, *deus salutaris*, pret' cujuslibet liij. s. iiij. d.; Pret' cvj. s. viij. d. Item, iiij. Gradalia antiqua, 2^o folio primi, *Christus Rex*, 3^o folio secundi, *Gaudete*, 2^o folio tertii, *descendit*, 2^o folio quarti, *confundentur*, pret' cujuslibet iiij. s. iiij. d.; Pret' xij. s. iiij. d. Item, liber de cantu organico, 2^o folio, *Eleyson*, ex dono domini Fundatoris, Pret' vi. s. viij. d. Item, j. Gradale bene correctum per totum, ex dono magistri Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *in profundum*, Pret' xxvj. s. viij. d.

Pontificale et Epistolare.

Item, j. Pontificale cum clapsulis argenteis, cum cooperculo de nigro sericeo et rubeo, 2^o folio, *Actiones*, ex dono domini Fundatoris, Pret' xl. s. Item, j. Epistolare, emptum, 2^o folio, *Vox clamantis*, Pret' xx. s. Item, aliud Epistolare novum, ex ordinatione magistri Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *Terrorque*, Pret' liij. s. iiij. d.

Missalia.

Item unum Missale pulchrum et magnum cum clapsulis de argento deaurato, 2^o folio, *Taculo*, ex dono domini Fundatoris, Pret' xx. li.

Item, aliud Missale pulchrum, ex dono ejusdem, cum clapsulis de argento, 2º folio, *-tatem Nazareth*, Pret' x.li. Item, aliud Missale parvum ex dono ejusdem, cum clapsulis de argento et registro deaurato,² 2º folio, *Repri-mis*, Pret' C. s. Item, aliud Missale ex dono domini Fundatoris, cum registro de argento, 2º folio, *specialiter*, Pret' x. marc'. Item aliud Missale ex dono magistri Thomæ Nevyle, quondam Prioris Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wynton, cum clapsulis argenti, et registro de argento, 2º folio, *Et exeat*, Pret' x. marc'. Item, aliud Missale, ex ordinatione domini Ricardi Machyn ad orandum pro anima domini Thomæ Blake Capellani, 2º folio in rubro, *tum ad processionem*, Pret' x.li. Item, aliud Missale, ex legato domini Symonis Membury, quondam Thesaurarii domini Fundatoris et supervisoris operum Collegii, 2º folio in rubro, *Si Episcopus*, Pret' x. marc'. Item, aliud Missale cum clapsulis de cupro deaurato, emptum anno regni regis Henrici quarti xij^{mo}, 2º folio, *-cifca*, Pret' xl. s. Item, alia duo Missalia antiqua remanentia in manibus scholarium, 2º folio primi, *Et sicut lana*, 2º folio secundi, *Autem super*, pret' cujuslibet xij. s. iiij. d.; Pret' xxvj. s. viij. d. Item, aliud Missale, ex ordinatione magistri Roberti Heete ad usum scholarium, et specialiter locatorum in tertia camera angulari versus orientem, 2º folio, *-supas*, Pret' xx. s. Item, j. Missale antiquum, 2º folio, *Nobis domine*. Item, j. Missale, ex legato domini Nicolai North, quondam socii istius Collegii, cum clapsulis de cupro, ad orandum pro anima ejusdem, 2º folio post kalendarium, *Omnes albis cum amictibus*.

Libri Theologiæ—Bibbliæ.

Imprimis, j. Bibbia, cum clapsulis de argento deaurato, ex legato domini Fundatoris, 2º folio, *Tum nova*, Pret' viij. marc'. Item, alia Bibbia, ex dono magistri Johannis Campeden, 2º folio, *Legis respondit*, Pret' iiij. marc'. Item, alia Bibbia, ex legato domini Ricardi Brakkeley, 2º folio, *-am filio*, Pret' iiij. m. Item, alia Bibbia, ex ordinatione executorum magistri Ricardi Crymok olim socii Collegii, ad usum unius socii ad orandum pro anima ejusdem, et animabus Johannis et Johannæ, dum steterit in eodem, per indenturam factam inter custodem et recipientem, 2º folio, *Quorum*, Pret' xl. s. Item, j. Bibbia, ex dono magistri Roberti Heete ad usum alicujus socii dum steterit in eodem, per indenturam inter custodem et recipientem, 2º folio, *-gulas urbes*, Pret' iiij. li.

Doctores super Bibbiam.

Imprimis, Doctor de Lyra² in duabus partibus abbreviatus, cum tabula super eisdem, emptus anno regni regis Henrici quinti j^{mo}, 2º folio primæ partis in tabula, *ut patuit*, 3º folio secundæ partis, *Exercituum*, pret' cujuslibet C. s.; Pret' ix. li. vj. s. viij. d. Item, Doctor de Lyra super quatuor Evangelia non abbreviatus, cum clapsulis argenti, emptus anno supradicto, 3º folio, *tenarium*, Pret' liij. s. iiij. d. Item, postilla super Apocalypsin ex dono domini Johannis Skyrell, cum glossa communi super Marcum ex ordinatione magistri Roberti Heete, ad orandum pro anima magistri Willelmi

² "Registrum, corda in libro ad inveniendum lectionem." Ducange; who cites Metulinus, "Esse librum librique ducem dic esse Registrum."

³ Nicholas de Lyra. He was a converted Jew, by birth either English or Norman. He became a Minorite, and died in 1340.

Malton, 2^o folio, *ad faciem*, Pret' xx.s. Item, liber vocatus Auriola Bibliæ,⁴ 2^o folio, *-tura veritatis*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, libellus de significationibus quarundam dictionum Bibliæ, 2^o folio in tabula, *Lana*, Pret' vj.s. viij.d. Item, questiones Notyngham⁵ super Evangelia, ex legato magistri Ricardi Crymok, 2^o folio, *Quiescebant*, Pret' x.s. Item, Remyngton⁶ super Evangelia dominicalia, ex dono Edwardi Wyche, 2^o folio, *Sanaverunt cum de*, Pret' xl.s. Item, Odo Parisiensis⁷ super Evangelia de dominicis et sanctis, ex legato domini Johannis Wale, 2^o folio, *Lege*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, Chrysostomus, ex legato ejusdem, super Mattheum operis perfecti (*sic*), 2^o folio, *ad immolandum*, Pret' xx.s. Item, Acton,⁸ ex legato domini Johannis Yve, super Epistolas et Evangelia, 2^o folio, *fugiendo vitia*, Pret' xx.s. Item, Holcote⁹ super lecturam libri sapientiæ, ex legato domini Johannis Yve, 2^o folio, *-gum consolatur*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, Gorram¹ super Evangelium Lucæ, ex dono magistri Roberti Pevesey, 2^o folio, *vel ne reputaretur*.

Libri sententiarum.

Item, Magister Sententiarum,² emptus anno regni regis Henrici quinti j^{mo}, 2^o folio in tabula, *Cum sit*, Pret' xxx.s.

Doctores super sententias.

Item, Bonaventura³ super tertium sententiarum, ex dono magistri Johannis Morys, olim custodis hujus Collegii, 2^o folio, *Summa*, Pret' x.s. Item, Petrus de Tarentino⁴ super quartum sententiarum cum tabula super eundem, ex ordinatione Roberti Heete, socii ejusdem Collegii, 2 folio, *signum etiam est*, Pret' xij.s. iiij.d.

⁴ Probably the compendium of the Bible by Petrus Aureolus, a Minorite, who became Archbishop of Aix in Provence, and was living in 1345.

⁵ Richard of Nottingham, Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1316, a distinguished theologian, amongst whose works enumerated by Pits, p. 415, occur "Expositiones in quatuor Evangelia," MS. C. C. Coll. Cant. He was living in 1320.

⁶ Philip Remyngton, who studied at Oxford, and was a canon of Leicester. He wrote the work here mentioned and some others (see Tanner). He was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, which see he resigned in 1420, having been created a cardinal in 1408.

⁷ This MS. is still in the Library. Among the writers surnamed "Parisiensis" I have not met with an Odo elsewhere.

⁸ Probably Ralph Acton, an eminent theologian. Among his works enumerated by Pits, are "Expositorium, seu Homiliæ in Evangelia Dominicalia, et Homiliæ in Epistolas." These seem to be the works spoken of above. He was living in 1320. See Tanner, by whom his name is given as "Achedunus (Rodol-

phus), vulgo Acton."

⁹ Pits, sub anno 1349, enumerates no less than forty-nine works by Robert Holcote; among them are a commentary on the twelve minor Prophets, on the books of Proverbs and Wisdom, and on the four Gospels. Many of his works have been printed. There is a copy of his commentary on the book of Wisdom printed in 1489, still in the Library. He was a Dominican of Northampton, and died in 1349.

¹ Nicholas Gorram, a Dominican; first of Merton College, Oxford, whence he removed to Paris, became a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and rose to be Provincial of his order in France. No less than fifty-one treatises are ascribed to him; but few of them seem to have been deemed worthy to be printed. He flourished c. 1400.

² The celebrated Peter Lombard. He became Bishop of Paris and died in 1164.

³ Two of this name wrote on the Sentences; one died in 1274, the other about 1390.

⁴ Query Peter de Tarantasia, afterwards Pope Innocent V., who wrote on the four books of the Sentences.

Libri historiales.

Item, Magister Historiarum⁶, ex dono domini Johannis Clere, olim socii hujus Collegii, 2^o folio, *deus autem*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, speculum historiale abbreviatum, ex dono magistri Johannis Campeden, 2^o folio, *Et confirmatione*, Pret' iiij. marc'.

Psalteria Glossata.

Item, Psalterium Glossatum cum communiglossa, ex dono magistri Johannis Elmer, 3^o folio, *Christiani*, Pret' xij.s. iiij.d. Item, Petrus Premonstratensis⁶ super Psalterium, ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio in prologo, *Et tempus*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, Psalterium Glossatum ex ordinatione Roberti Heete, socii ejusdem Collegii, 3^o folio, *Judicis nec verba*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, Psalterium Glossatum, cum Magistro Historiarum, Pastorale (*sic*) Gregorii, cum multis aliis contentis, viz. Chronicon Cestrense ex dono magistri Roberti Heete, ad usum alicujus socii dum steterit in Collegio, per indenturam inter custodem et recipientem, 2^o folio, *resurrexeras*, Pret' liij.s. iiij.d. Item, Psalterium Glossatum de implimentis quondam apud Barton in Insula Vecta, 2^o folio. Item, Ricardus Hampole⁷ super Psalterium, 2^o folio in textu, *semper prosperabunt*, ex dono magistri Johannis Morys, primi custodis istius Collegii, et domini Nicholai North, quondam socii Collegii supradicti.

Libri Augustini.

Item, liber continens dialogum Augustini, cum tractatu Bernardi de præcepto et dispensatione, et tractatu de vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris, cum vita Sancti Hugonis, 2^o folio, *Tres personas*, Pret' xij.s. iiij.d. Item, liber continens soliloquium Augustini, et de immortalitate animæ, et sancta virginitate, et retractatione ejusdem de Genesi, cum quodam tractatu de honesta vita, 2^o folio, *diceretur*, Pret' x.s. Item, Arnoldus⁸ de sex verbis domini in monte, emptus, 2^o folio, *Pro turture* Pret' x.s. Item, Augustinus de doctrina Christiana⁹, ex dono magistri Thomæ Rumsey, 2^o folio, *Qui quum nullis*. Item, Augustinus super Psalterium in tribus voluminibus, ex dono Johannis Smyth, nuper vicarii de Froyle, iiij^o. die Augusti anno domini M^oCCCC^oL^o, 2^o folio primi voluminis præter tabulam, *tractatus de Psalmo secundo*, 2^o folio secundi voluminis præter tabulam, *Quibus est*, 2^o folio tertii voluminis, *novi a voce gemitus mei*; Cathenandus in communi libraria istius Collegii.

Libri Gregorii.

Item, liber continens omelias Gregorii super Evangelia, cum Postoral (*sic*)

⁶ This may be some well-known writer, but I have not been able to discover him. A work so called, but without the author's name, is among the MSS. in the Library of St. Catherine's College, Cambridge, of which a catalogue is printed in the Transactions of the Camb. Antiq. Soc. vol. i. In the Library of Caius College, Cambridge, is "Tabularum Theologicarum Collectio," of which the fourth is "*Super Magistrum Historiarum*."

⁶ I have not met with the name of

this writer elsewhere.

⁷ Richard Hampole was an Augustinian Eremit, who died in 1349.

⁸ Abbot of Bonevalle, in the diocese of Chartres, a friend of St. Bernard. He was living in 1162.

⁹ There is an early MS. of this work of St. Augustine still in the Library, but it is not the one entered in this catalogue. It appears to be of the XIth or XIIth century, and once belonged to the Abbey of Newburgh.

et dialogo ejusdem, 2^o folio, *Sed semper*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, liber continens omelias Gregorii super Ezechielem, cum bibbia versificata, 2^o folio, *Aliquem*, Pret' x.s. Item, liber Moraliū Gregorii abbreviatus, emptus anno regni regis Henrici quinti j^{mo}, 2^o folio, *nabulis*, Pret' lxxi.s. viij.d. Item, liber moraliū Gregorii abbreviatus, ex dono magistri Johannis Elmer, 2^o folio in tabula, *suorum*, Pret' xx.s. Item, liber moraliū Gregorii abbreviatus, 2^o folio, *molem subvehi*; cum certo Chronico Regum Angliæ, et libro cum moralisationibus volucrum et bestiarum vocato Bestiario,¹ ex dono Roberti Colpays.

Libri morales diversorum doctorum.

Item, liber continens Speculum Vincentii² de principum institutione et puerorum conditione, cum tractatu de penitentia, et tractatu de modo prædicandi, et quibusdam sermonibus, 2^o folio, *fnitimus*, Pret' xx.s. Item, liber continens tractatum qui vocatur Stimulus amoris, cum expositione lectionum de Dirige, et tractu qui vocatur Consolatio peccatorum, alias Belial, et quibusdam sermonibus Angelicis de revelationibus factis Sanctæ Brigittæ, 2^o folio, *facere mente*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, liber vocatus Florarium Bartolomæi,³ ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2^o folio, *sed ante*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, compendium morale ex dono magistri Johannis Campeden, 2^o folio, *Intemperantia*, Pret' xl.s. Item, liber continens compendium morale, cum tractatu quodam grammaticali, qui intitulatur Adamas, ex dono magistri Johannis Elmer, 2^o folio, *Communico*, Pret' x.s. Item, liber continens tractatum de ludo scaccorum, et Willelmum de Sancto Amore,⁴ ex dono magistri Johannis Campeden, 2^o folio, *Extitit*, Pret' xij.s., iij.d. Item, liber continens sermones fratris Gilberti, cum quodam tractatu de fide et virtutibus, ex dono domini Willelmi Swyndon, quondam socii istius Collegii, 2^o folio, *a Regibus*, Pret' x.s. Item, liber continens diversas narrationes de beata Virgine, et aliis materiis, scilicet, vitiis et virtutibus, cum quodam tractatu de ludo scaccorum, 2^o folio, *Fluere*, ex dono magistri Johannis Campeden, Pret' xx.s. Item, liber continens vitam Sancti Thomæ Martyris⁵, ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2^o folio, *neficiis*, Pret' xx. s. Item, liber continens meditationes Bernardi, et summam Thomæ de Alquino⁶ de perfectione religiosorum, cum tractatu de vitiis et virtutibus, ex legato Ricardi Crymok, 2^o folio, *Quam natum*, Pret' xij.s. iij.d. Item, liber continens Alexandrum⁷ de informatione parvulorum, tractatum de naturis lapidum, cum quibusdam versibus Blesensis⁸ de commendatione vini et

¹ Of *Bestiaria*, *Volucraria* and *Lapidaria*, in the middle age literature, see M. Hippeau, Introduction to "Le Bestiaire divin de Guillaume, Clerc de Normandie, XIII. siècle." Caen. 1852, 8vo.

² Vincent of Beauvais, a Dominican, and, according to some, Bishop of Beauvais. He died in 1266 or 1264.

³ This Bartholomæus was surnamed Floriarius, and lived at the beginning of the XVth century. He is not the same person as Bartholomæus de Glanville presently mentioned; see notes to the catalogue of the MSS. in the library of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, published in the "Transactions of Camb. Antiq. Soc." vol. i.

⁴ William of S. Amour in Franche

Comté. The name of the work is not here mentioned, but he is best known for his writings against some of the Orders of Friars. He flourished c. 1253.

⁵ This MS. is still in the library.

⁶ Probably Thomas Aquinas, sometimes called Aquinus, or de Aquino. Two treatises by him were intitled "De Perfectione Vitæ Spiritualis" and "De Vitiis et Virtutibus."

⁷ Probably Alexander Necham, who was born at St. Albans, and flourished in the XIIIth century. His works are numerous, but Tauner does not mention this among them.

⁸ Peter of Blois, a celebrated scholar and theologian of the XIIth century, came to England by invitation of Henry

cerevisiæ, et tractatu de Purgatorio Patricii, 2^o folio, *Altare*, Pret' vj.s. viij.d. Item, liber continens rationale divinorum et legendam Sanctorum, ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2^o folio, *Quia in præsentî*, Pret' C.s. Item, liber continens Hugonem de Sancto Victore de sacramentis, cum tractatu de naturis Bestiarum, et Chronicis Merlini, 2^o folio, *dancæ*, Pret' vj.s. viij.d. Item, liber continens Innocentem de miseria conditionis humanæ, cum Numerali magistri Willelmi de Monte,¹ et Chronicis Martini de Bello Trojano, Itinerarium, et Giraldi Cambrensis tractatum de laudabilibus Britannis et Wallis, tractatum de pœnis, et origine Pilati et Judæ Scariotis, cum tractatu quodam de laude Origenis, 2^o folio, *se purificare*, Pret' xij.s. iij.d. Item, liber continens Isiderum Ethemolegisarum² cum ij. tractatibus grammaticalibus, 2^o folio, *sunt tres*, Pret' iij.s. iij.d. Item, liber continens Boicium³ de disciplina scolarium, cum speculo Sancti Edmundi Montis,⁴ beati Isiderij tractatu qui vocatur Templum domini, et tractatu magistri Henrici de Hekham⁵ super Donatum cum expositione sequentiæ, Alma (*sic*) chorus domini, et aliis notabilibus, 2^o folio, *Quid autem*, Pret' vj.s. viij.d. Item, liber continens tractatum de penitentia, cum tractatu qui vocatur Speculum Juniorum, et tractatu qui vocatur Breviloquium, cum quibusdam sermonibus de Christi præceptis, ex dono magistri Johannis Campeden, 2^o folio, *sic tene*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, liber penitentialis vocatus Pars oculi, ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2^o folio, *Respondit*, Pret' x.s. Item, tractatus vocatus Bromyard⁶ de vitiis et virtutibus, cum cotationibus Juris Canonici et Civilis, ex dono magistri Willelmi Stapulford quondam socii Coll' Oxon', 2^o folio, *Cum venerit*, Pret' xxvj.s. viij.d. Item, liber continens tractatum qui vocatur Willelmus in Sacramentale,⁷ cum quodam tractatu Albertani Causidici⁷ de dilectione dei et proximi, ex ordinatione domini Petri Hert et magistri Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *Interruptum*, Pret' xx.s. Item, liber revelationum Sanctæ

II, was archdeacon of Bath in 1175, and of London in 1198. In the catalogue of his voluminous writings given by Tanner mention occurs of "*Versus de commendatione vini*." MS. Norwic. More, 131. "*Versus contra Robertum de Bello Fago, laudentem cerevisiam*." MS. Merton. Robert de Bello Foco, or Bello Fago, canon of Sarum, a learned Oxonian contemporary of Peter of Blois, and intimate friend of Giraldus Cambrensis, Walter Mapes, and other learned men of his day, had written, according to Tanner, "*Carmen de commendatione cerevisiæ*," of which a copy existed in MS. Norwic. More, 131.

⁹ A canon, and, according to some, Abbot of S. Victor, Paris. He died in 1140.

¹ Gulielmus de Monte, or de Montibus, was a native of Leicester, and a distinguished professor of theology at Oxford. He is sometimes called William of Leicester. He was Chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral about the year 1192, and died in 1213. Amongst his numerous works occurs "*Numerale, lib. i.*" of which MSS.

exist at Ball. Coll., Merton, C. C. Cant., and Caius College. Pits, p. 285.

³ St. Isidore, Bishop of Seville; he wrote several works and died in or about 636. This work is no doubt the same that is also called "*Etymologiarum liber*."

⁵ Probably Boetius or Boethius; a work of his is entitled "*De Disciplina Scholastica*."

⁴ Of these two authors I have not been able to ascertain any particulars.

⁵ John Bromyard or Bromyard was an English Dominican, and the author of a work still in repute, entitled "*Summa Predicantium*." Writers differ as to when he flourished; most likely it was near the end of the XIVth century. See Pits 551 and Tanner.

⁶ This may have been either William of Paris, a Dominican, who wrote "*Dialogi Septem de Sacramentis*," and flourished c. 1305; or William, Bishop of Paris, who also wrote on the sacraments, and died in 1249.

⁷ Albertanus Causidicus was of Brescia, and flourished c. 1240.

Brigittæ, ex ordinatione Roberti Heete socii ejusdem Collegii, cum constitutionibus factis per eandem, 2^o folio in tabula, *acquirendis*, Pret' liij.s. iiij.d. Item, Parisiensis^a per totum annum cum aliis diversis contentis, ex dono Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *-cias et*, Pret' xxx. s. Item, Bonaventura de vita et passione Christi, ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *-phanæ*, Pret' xij. s. iiij.d. Item, Isidorus de summo bono, cum aliis, 2^o folio, *-bile est*, ex dono ejusdem, Pret' xij.s. iiij.d. Item, miracula beatæ Virginis, cum aliis contentis, ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *Generationis est*, Pret' x.s. Item, Januensis^a per totum annum, ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *S. Zachariam*, Pret' xxvj.s. viij.d. Item, Januensis super opere quadragesimali, ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *Ergo ab aliquo*, Pret' xx.s. Item, liber vocatus Fasciculus Morum, ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *sic certe*, Pret' vj.s. viij.d. Item, liber continens sermones dominicales, 2^o folio in tabula, ex dono ejusdem (*sic*), *miserere*, Pret' iij s. iiij.d. Item, liber continens diversas materias morales, et liber vocatus Burnell,¹ ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *Illius primogenita*, Pret' vj. & viij. d. Item, liber sermonum ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *Maris et fœminæ*, Pret' x.s. Item, repertorium bonum continens tractatum super bibbliam, cum aliis, ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio in tabula, *Ecce Rex*, Pret' xx. s. Item, repertorium bonum de sermonibus et aliis materiis, 2^o folio in tabula, *Sermo*, ex dono ejusdem, Pret' x. s. Item, Bartolomæus² de proprietatibus rerum, ex dono magistri Nicolai Upton,³ 2^o folio, *-turæ*. Item, Augustinus super Johannem, ex dono ejusdem magistri Nicolai Upton, 2^o folio in textu, *substantia cogitata est*. Item, liber vocatus Florarium Bartolomæi, ex legato domini Ricardi Bone, Rectoris Ecclesiæ parochialis Sancti Michaelis in Kingsgate Street, ad orandum pro anima ejusdem, 2^o folio, *Flores suavem*. Item, Bartolomæus in casibus, ex legato ejusdem, 2^o folio, *communicatus a Papa*. Item, legenda Sanctorum, vocata Legenda aurea, 2^o folio, *deus judicium*, ex dono domini Nicolai North. Item, alius liber Bartholomæi in casibus, 2^o folio *de quocunque*, ex dono Roberti Colpays.

Libri Chronici.

Item, Polychronicon Willelmi Cestrensis⁴ ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2^o folio, *Tantæ*, Pret' xl. s. Item, Polycraticon⁵ ex dono Johannis Yve

^a Several had the surname "Parisiensis," but I have not been able to identify this writer among them.

² Jacobus de Voragine, author of the "Legenda Aurea," and also of sermons "de tempore per totum anni circulum, et quadragesimales," and other works. He was Archbishop of Genoa, and died c. 1298. He is sometimes called Jacobus Januensis.

¹ Query "Brunellus in Speculo Stultorum," a work which is found among the early printed books of unknown authors.

² Bartholomæus de Glanville, of a noble family in Suffolk, was a Franciscan. He studied at Oxford, Paris, and Rome, and flourished c. 1360. This work, for which he was best known, was divided into nineteen books. See Cave, "Hist.

Lit." vol. ii., Sæc. Wick., p. 66.

³ This was most likely Nicholas Upton, the author of the work, "De Studio Militari," which was printed with notes by Sir Edward Bysshe, Garter King-of-Arms, in 1654, and dedicated to Selden. Upton was probably connected with St. Mary's College, as, according to Dallaway, he was of New College, Oxford. He held a canonry at St. Paul's, London, in 1443, and one at Salisbury in 1446: he was in the service of Thomas de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, and patronised by Humphry, Duke of Gloucester.

⁴ As to this MS. see the introductory remarks.

⁵ Rogerus Cestrensis, a monk of St. Werburgh's, Chester, about 1339, compiled a history called "Polycraticon" or "Polycratica Temporum a Mundi origine

socii Collegii, 2^o folio, *Si Britonum*, Pret' xxvj. s. Item, unus liber datus Collegio per dominum Fundatorem, in quo continentur taxationes omnium ecclesiarum in singulis diocesisibus per totam Angliam, qui fuerat in custodia Johannis Exham, executoris domini Thomæ Aylward, modo in manibus Custodis, 2^o folio.⁶

Libri Philosophiæ.

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Libri Juris Canonici.—Decreta et doctores super decreta.

Imprimis, liber Decretorum ex dono magistri Johannis Campeden, 2^o folio, *-rum sunt*, Pret' x. marc'. Item, summa Gratiani⁷ super decreta, cum tractatu Galdri⁸ de auctoritatibus Bibbliæ, cum cotacionibus veteris Testamenti et novi, et Juris Canonici, ex ordinatione Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *de feriis*, Pret' x. s. Item, liber decretorum ex legato magistri Roberti Keton, 2^o folio, *Est aliter*, Pret' xxvj. s. viij. d. Item, liber continens casuarium Bernardi⁹ super decreta et decretalia, ex ordinatione Roberti Heete socii ejusdem Collegii, 2^o folio, *Ebdomadas ante Pascha*, Pret' xx. s. Item, liber decretorum ex dono domini Willelmi Fryke Capellani, quondam scholaris hujus Collegii, 2^o folio, *Quadragesimam*.

Decretales.

Item, liber Decretalium, emptus anno regni regis Henrici quinti, j^{mo}, 2^o folio in textu, *Recipiant*, Pret' xxxij. s. iiij. d. Item, liber Decretalium in antiquis, ex ordinatione magistri Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *Est verum*, Pret' x. s. Item, Innocentius¹ super decretales, emptus anno regni regis Henrici quinti, j^{mo}, 3^o folio, *sed tantum*, Pret' xij. s. iiij. d. Item, liber decretalium, ex legato magistri Roberti Keton, 2^o folio in textu, *-tatis appellamus*, Pret' xxij. s. iiij. d. Item, casuarius Bernardi super decretalia, ex legato ejusdem, 2^o folio, *fuerat præjudicium*, Pret' vj. s. viij. d. Item, Ostiensis² in lecturam super decretalia in duabus partibus, 2^o folio primæ, *quarum nichil*, 3^o folio secundæ partis, *non de extortis*, ex legato prædicti magistri Roberti Keton, Pret' x. li. Item, alius doctor super decretalia, ex legato ejusdem j^{mo} anno ut creditur, 2^o folio, in *veteri*, Pret' xx. s. Item, Innocentius super decretalia ex ordinatione Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *non habet hic*, Pret' xxij. s. iiij. d. Item, liber decretalium ex dono domini Willelmi Fryke Capellani, quondam scholaris hujus Collegii, 2^o folio in textu, *Romana Ecclesia*.

ad A. 1314, lib. vii." It was subsequently continued to the year 1339. Fabricius gives the name as "Cicestrensis, male quibusdam Cestrensis," and observes that some writers call him Robert or Richard. Pits. p. 438, Bale, cent. v. 48.

⁶ Here is written in a later hand, "In manibus Parl'"; a note importing, I presume, that Parliament had on some occasion called for this Book.

⁷ Most likely the Gratian who about 1150 compiled the Decretum.

⁸ Galdriⁿ is probably for Calderinⁱ. There were two Legists of Bologna so called, viz., John and Caspar, who died respectively in 1360 and 1365.

⁹ Bernhard (John^t) was a distinguished canonist, whose works are found quoted as authorities, but little seems known of him.

¹ Pope Innocent IV.

² Henry of Susa, Cardinal and Bishop of Ostia, who died in 1281. His works on the Canon Law had great repute.

Libri Sexti cum doctoribus.

Item, liber sextus cum glossa ordinaria et duobus aliis doctoribus, ex legato magistri Roberti Keton, 2^o folio, *nec sumus*, Pret' xxx.s.

Clementinæ.

Item, liber Clementinarum cum glossa communi, ex legato magistri Roberti Keton, 2^o folio in textu, *Pontificatus nostri*; et continet etiam tractatum de electione cum constitutionibus, et Johannem Acton⁵ et cætera, Pret' xxx. s. Item, alius liber, ex legato ejusdem, continens constitutiones Clementinas cum iij. doctoribus, viz. Gess' Guill' et Johanne Andrew,⁴ 4 folio, *rei mutata superba*, Pret' xx. s.

Summæ et alii tractatus diversorum doctorum Juris Canonici.

Item, summa Goffredi,⁵ ex ordinatione magistri Roberti Heete, 2^o folio *possunt*, Pret' xij.s. iij.d. Item, alia summa Goffredi, ex dono Johannis Fromond, 2^o folio, *de quibusdam*, Pret' vj. s. viij. d. Item, summa Raymundi,⁶ ex ordinatione magistri Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *Redeunt*, Pret' xij.s. iij.d. Item, Bartolomæus⁷ de casibus, ex legato domini Johannis Moore, 2^o folio, *Indignis*, Pret' xxx.s. Item, liber continens constitutiones provinciales et synodales, ex dono domini Fundatoris, cum parte modica Magistri Historiarum, 2^o folio, *Quæ in causa*, Pret' x. s. Item, liber de suggestionibus et querelis secundum usum et practicam Curie Cantuariensis, cum aliis literis et notabilibus, ex dono magistri Johannis Campeden, 2^o folio, *a delegato*, Pret' vj. s. viij. d. Item, speculum judiciale,⁸ ex dono magistri Roberti Keton, 2^o folio, *-ta autem hujus*, Pret' xl. s. Item, summa confessorum,⁹ ex ordinatione Roberti Heete, 2^o folio, *singulorum librorum*, Pret' xl. s. Item, inventarium Juris Canonici, ex ordinatione ejusdem, 2^o folio, *et ubi Abbas*;

⁵ John Acton, Canon of Lincoln, was the author of a work, entitled by Pits, "Septuplum et apparatus super constitutiones legatorum Othonis et Ottoboni;" a MS. of which, he says, was at New College. He was living in 1290.

⁴ A Cardinal Gesselyn is named among the writers on Canon Law in the catalogue of books belonging to St. Mary's Abbey, Leicester (Nichols' Leicestersh., I., app., p. 106): though of him no other notice has been found, probably he was meant by "Gess." By "Guill," most likely was intended Gulielmus Durandus, the author of the "Rationale Divinorum officiorum," who also wrote on Canon Law; see Cave. Johannes Andreas was a distinguished Canonist of Bologna, who died in 1348.

⁶ Goffredus de Trano: the title of the work is "Summa in titulos Decretalium;" it was printed at Venice in 1491, and again in 1586. Fabricius mentions a work by him intitled "Summa de omnibus quæ continentur in Codice novi Juris." Little is known of him, but pro-

bably he flourished early in the XIVth century.

⁶ Raymundus de Pennaforte, who compiled the Decretalia, about 1230, was the author of "Summa de Casibus Pœnitentialibus," or "Summa de Pœnitentia et matrimonio." He was a Dominican, and died in 1275.

⁷ A work intitled "Summa Casuum Conscientiæ" is attributed by Fabricius to Bartholomæus Albicius, but Cave and others ascribe it to Bartholomæus a S. Concordia. As both were of Pisa this may have occasioned the mistake. The latter was a Dominican, and died in 1347; the former a Minorite, and died in 1401.

⁸ This should seem to be one of the works of Gulielmus Durandus, the author of the "Rationale Divinorum officiorum;" it was also called "Speculum juris." See Nichols' Leicestersh., I., app. 106, n. 22.

⁹ Probably the work so called by John of Fribourg, a Dominican, who was appointed to a bishopric in Hungary, and died in 1314.

et continet etiam constitutiones Legatinas et provinciales, cum synodalibus Wynton, Pret' xx. s. Item, magister Ricardus de Posis in summa sua de Epistolis, secundum consuetudinem Romanæ Curie usitatis, ex ordinatione ejusdem, 2º folio in procemio, *silleba cujus penultima*, Pret' xij. s. iij. d. Item, pupilla oculi, de dono domini Johannis Wale nuper hostiarii hujus Collegii, 2º folio, *horum*, Pret' xij. s. iij. d. Item, pars oculi, ex legato domini Nicolai Smyth conductitii istius Collegii, 2º folio, *Oret quis*, Pret' iij. s. iij. d. Item, summa confessorum, ex legato domini Henrici Hendyng nuper socii istius Collegii, 2º folio in tabula, *de consecratione*, Pret' xx. s. Item, pupilla oculi, ex dono magistri Roberti Heete ad usum alicujus socii, 2º folio, *Baptismus*, Pret' xl. s. Item, repertorium continens libri (sic) decretales et tractatum super quartum librum decretales, ex dono ejusdem ad usum alicujus socii, 2º folio in tabula, *de officiis*, Pret' xvij. s. iij. d. Item, repertorium in materia practica, non ligatum, ad usum alicujus socii, ex dono ejusdem, 2º folio, *-ciam obtinentis*. Item, inventarium Juris Canonici, ex dono magistri Roberti Keton, 2º folio, *Monasterii W—cle*.

Libri Juris Civilis.

Imprimis, j. codex, ex legato magistri Johannis Wykam, Rectoris quondam de Crundale, 2º folio in textu, *-te sunt*, Pret' xx. s. Item, ff. infortiatum, ex legato ejusdem Johannis, 2º folio in textu, *hic fructus*, Pret' x. s. Item, ff. novum, ex legato ejusdem magistri Johannis, 2º folio in textu, *-ces pertineat*, Pret' x. s. Item, Cassiatius super C.² et ff. vetus, infortiatum, et novum, ex legato ejusdem magistri Johannis, 2º folio, *Ecclesiam, sed tamen*, Pret' x. s.

Libri Grammaticales.

Imprimis, Priscianus³ in Majori, ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2º folio, *Decimus*, Pret' vj. s. viij. d. Item, alius liber Prisciani in Majori, ex dono magistri Johannis Shyrfeld Vicarii de Zenele (sic), 2º folio, *Compagne*, Pret' vj. s. viij. d. Item, alius liber Prisciani in Majori, ex dono domini Thomæ Paxton, 2º folio, *Ex quibus*, Pret' vj. s. viij. d. Item, liber qui intitulatur Unus omnium Prisciani in Minori, cum Petro Helya,⁴ 2º folio, *Est aqua*, Pret' ij. s. Item, Priscianus in Minori, ex dono magistri Johannis Shyrfeld, 2º folio, *Magnus Poeta*, Pret' xx. s. Item, Kylewardeby⁵ super Priscianum in Minori, 2º folio, *in Constructione*, Pret' iij. s. iij. d. Item, liber Papiæ,⁶ emptus anno regni regis Henrici quarti, xmo, 2º folio,

¹ This ff stands for the Pandects, or, as they are also called the Digests; they were formerly divided into three parts, which were respectively known as Vetus, Infortiatum, and Novum.

² C, here, means Codex, i.e. the Code of Justinian. The name of Cassiatius, as a writer on civil law, has not been elsewhere met with.

³ Of this celebrated writer on Grammar little is known, except that he was of Cæsarea, and presided over a school at Constantinople. Probably he flourished at the beginning of the Vth century.

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⁴ Petrus Helyas wrote a grammar in hexameter verse, which, with a commentary by John Sommerfeld, was printed at Strasbourg in 1499. Little seems known of him.

⁵ Of the voluminous writings of Robert Kilwarby, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1272, see Pits, p. 357, who attributes to him a treatise "Super Priscianum minorem de Prosodia, sive de accentu." MS. Coll. Pet. Cantab.

⁶ Of the "Elementarium" written by Papias, about 1063, see Ducange, Pref. to his Glossary, c. xlv. where may also

Mirifica, Pret' xxxij. s. iiij. d. Item, Hugucio, ex dono domini Fundatoris, 3^o folio, *Eo quod omnes*, Pret' xxx. s. Item, liber continens tractatum de accentu, et de dubitabilibus quæ sunt in Bibbia, ex legato domini Petri Hert quondam socii hujus Collegii, 2^o folio, *Rerum*, Pret' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, liber continens librum magni doctrinalis, et librum sinonimorum, 2^o folio, *hunc se vilem*, Pret' xx. d. Item, liber continens librum equivocorum, et librum magni doctrinalis, ex dono domini Thomæ Paxton, 2^o folio, *Istud est aptum*, et remanet in manibus magistri scolarium, Pret' vj. s. viij. d. Item, liber continens quandam compilationem de informatione puerorum, cum aliis parvis tractatibus, 2^o folio, *Ablatyf cas*, in Anglice, ex dono prædicti domini Thomæ Paxton, et remanet in manibus magistri scolarium, Pret' xl. s. Item, liber versificatus, qui incipit *Nec fonte*, cum tractatu magistri Johannis Garland,⁷ cum Ympnali glossato, et Virgilio, qui incipit *Fecit deus mira*, Pret' xx. d. Item, Cestrensis de modo dicendi, ex dono magistri Johannis Elmer, 2^o folio, *Effectu quicquid*, Pret' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, liber continens diversos tractatus de sophistria, 2^o folio, *una est*, Pret' iij. s. iiij. d. Item, liber Catholicon,⁸ ex dono domini Fundatoris, 2^o folio, *excepto*, Pret' C. s. Item, alius liber Catholicon, ex dono ejusdem, 2^o folio, *ut vult*, Pret' iiij. li. Item, liber continens librum Græcismi et doctrinalis, glossatum secundum Pictaviensem et Horiliensem, ex dono magistri Ricardi Darsy olim Magistri Informatoris Scolarium, 2^o folio, *Ordinationes*, Pret' lx. s. Item, quidam tractatus grammaticæ super dictionibus, vocatus Ferrum, ex dono magistri Thomæ Rumsey, et continet in fine Summam Raymundi, 2^o folio, *distinguendum est*.

W. H. GUNNER.

be found notices of John de Garlandia, Ugutio, &c.

⁷ John de Garlandia, of French origin, lived in England about the middle of the XIth century: he compiled several grammatical works of great repute in mediæval times. In the "Histoire Littéraire de la France," tom. viii. p. 96, three dictionaries are attributed to him. One of these has been printed in the Appendix to "Paris sous Philippe le Bel," by M. Géraud (Coll. de Docum. Inéd. 1837.) See also Pits, and Pref. to Ducange, c. xlv. Two of his treatises, entitled

"Æquivocorum opus" and "Synonimorum," occur above in this catalogue; in which may be noticed also "Tractatus de Accentu," possibly the "Accentarius, vel de Acoentibus," attributed by Pits to John de Garlandia.

⁸ Of the dictionary compiled by Johannes de Janua, chiefly on the foundation of those of Papias and Ugutio, and entitled, "Summa seu Catholicon," see Ducange, Pref. to his Glossary, c. xlvii. The work was finished in 1286, and first printed in 1460.



Diminutive Incised Slab, Steeple Langford, Wilts.

Height 2 ft. 2 ins.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

November 6, 1857.

JAMES YATES, Esq., F.R.S., in the Chair.

The Rev. EDWARD WILTON, of West Lavington, sent a fac-simile of an incised slab, recently brought to light at Steeple Langford in Wiltshire, of which Mr. Albert Way communicated the following account :

" The slab, which is a remarkable addition to the list of miniature effigies, of which Mr. W. S. Walford gave an interesting notice in our Journal (vol. iii. p. 234), was discovered in pulling down the chancel of the church of Steeple Langford, an early specimen of the Early English style. The incised slab (see engraving) is of Purbeck marble, and measures 26 inches in length by 14 inches at the top, and 9½ inches at the foot. The figure measures only 2 feet in height. The stone appears to be perfect in its original proportions, as above given, but it is stated that when it was found there was a second piece of Purbeck slab placed above the incised portion, and the idea had been thereby suggested that the two portions combined would present the ordinary form of a modern coffin. This smaller four-sided slab had been broken in pieces, and used in the building, and it may now be difficult to suggest for what it was first intended, but the conjecture that such had been the original fashion of the tomb may be very questionable.

" The person portrayed on this memorial appears in a long robe, open in front, his hands are raised and hold an escutcheon, which is perfectly plain, and the idea suggests itself that it may have been intended to represent a receptacle enclosing the heart of the deceased, and not an armorial escutcheon, to which it bears close resemblance. It will be remembered that there exist several sepulchral memorials, presenting examples of the heart thus held between the upraised hands, such as the figures at Cubington, Gloucestershire, and another near Ledbury in Herefordshire ; and this peculiarity occurs in the half figure of a bishop in Winchester Cathedral. At the right side of the figure is a horn, suspended by a strap over the left shoulder, and this has been regarded as allusive probably to Waleran Venator, who held lands at Steeple or Great Langford, Wilts, and was patron of the living at the early part of the thirteenth century, the period also to which the date of the chancel, recently demolished, had been assigned. The slab lay on the south side of the chancel, near the east end, and Mr. Wilton thinks that it may be regarded as the memorial of a founder of the fabric. The costume and design of the figure appears of rather later date than the period when Waleran the Hunter held lands in the parish, which was about the year 1200. Mr. Wilton states that at the close of the thirteenth century, Alan de Langford appears to have held the office

¹ Boutell, " Christian Monuments," p. 119.

of Verderer of the adjoining forest of Grovely, and he suggests that the horn may have been introduced as a symbol of his office.

"Some notices of Waleran Venator will be found in Sir Richard Colt Hoare's History of Wiltshire; and in the recently published Transactions of the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, a memoir may be found relative to the perambulations of the Wiltshire forests in the year 1300, including that of Gravelee (now written Grovely), with which the person portrayed on this interesting little slab has been associated.

"The hunting horn is, as I believe, of comparatively uncommon occurrence on sepulchral memorials in England. Two or three examples only are known to me. I am informed that in Scotland instances of its introduction in early monumental sculpture are more frequent, but the only examples known to me are, an effigy in military costume in the Isle of Bute, and a grave slab in the church-yard of Strachur, Argyllshire. I think, however, that it is found on some of the sepulchral slabs at Iona, figured in Mr. Graham's work on the ancient remains in that island.

"The figure seems to be in excellent preservation, the slab having been used as part of the pavement; the design strikes me as presenting considerable similarity to that of many incised memorials in France, which may be assigned to the same period. The stiff character of the outlines may in some measure be owing to the hard material of the slab."

Mr. CARRINGTON presented a drawing of a Cucking stool, now remaining in a perfect state, in the unused aisle of Leominster church, on which he communicated the following remarks:—

"There is no doubt that the legal punishment for common scolds, by the laws of England, always has been, and still is, that they be placed in the cucking stool, and immersed in a pond or stream. At present the cucking stool is only the legal punishment for scolds, though anciently, and as early as the reign of Edward the Confessor, it was the punishment of fraudulent brewers.

"In the 'Domesday' Survey, under Chester (p. 262 of the printed copies of that work), is the following entry:—

"*T. R. E. Vir sive mulier falsam mensuram in civitate faciens deprehensus iiij solidos emendabat: similiter malam cervisiam faciens aut in cathedra ponebatur stercoris aut iiij^{or} solidos dabat prepositis.*"

"Which may be thus translated: 'In the time of King Edward, a man or woman found making false measure in the city, was fined 4s., likewise one making bad beer was either put in the chair of muck or gave 4s. to the reeves.'

"By the 'Statutum de Pistoribus,' which is of uncertain date (assigned by some to 51 Hen. III. [1267], and by others to 13 Edward I. [1285]), printed by the Record Commissioners in the 'Statutes of the Realm,' vol. i. p. 203, it is ordained that—

"*Pilloria sive Collistrigium et Tumbrellum continue habeantur debite fortitudinis; ita quod delinquentes exequi possint judicium sine corpora periculo.*"

"Every pillory or stretchneck and tumbrel must be made of convenient strength, so that the execution may be done upon offenders without peril of their bodies."

"And by the same statute it is further provided that brewers—

"*Qui assisam cervisie fregerint primo, secundo, et tercio, amercientur; quarto, sine redempcione subeant judicium tumbrelli.*"

"Brewers 'who break the assize the first, second, and third time, shall be amerced; but the fourth time, they shall undergo without redemption the judgment of the tumbrel.'

"Lord Chief Baron Comyns, who died in the year 1740, in his 'Digest of the Laws of England,' a work of high legal authority, says, tit. Tumbrel, A : —'The tumbrel or trebucket is an instrument for the punishment of women that scold, or are unquiet, now called a cucking stool, and a man may have a pillory, tumbrel, furcas, &c., by grant or prescription, and *every Lord of a Leet ought to have them*, and for default the liberty may be seized, or the Lord of the Liberty shall be fined to the King for a neglect in his time.'

"It is worthy of remark, that Lord Chief Baron Comyns mentions the tumbrel or trebucket as being a cucking stool. The tumbrel was an oak chair, fixed on a pair of wheels, and very long shafts. The person seated was wheeled into the pond backwards, and the shafts being suddenly tilted up, she was of course plunged into the water.

"The trebucket was a chair at the end of a beam, which acted on the see-saw principle, on a stump put into the ground at the edge of the water.'

"Cucking stools of the trebucket kind must have been common in the last century, as my late friends Mr. Curwood the eminent barrister, and Mr. Bellamy, who was clerk of assize on the Oxford circuit, and went the circuit for sixty years, both remembered them on the village greens about the country, in a more or less perfect state, as the stocks are now; and Mr. Neeld, the celebrated writer on prisons, in a note to a letter in the *Gent. Mag.* of December, 1803, p. 1104, says of the cucking stool, that 'It is a standard fixed at the entrance of a pond, to this is attached a long pole, at the extremity of which is fastened a chair. In this the woman is placed, and undergoes a thorough ducking, thrice repeated. *Such an one within the memory of persons now living, was in the great reservoir in the Green Park.*'

"The great reservoir in the Green Park was just within that park, opposite the end of Stratton Street. It has been filled up within the last few years.

"In the first number of the Wiltshire Archæological Society's Magazine, there is a lithograph of the tumbrel cucking stool at Wootton Bassett, with the date 1668 on it, which I obtained from the late Miss Cripps, of Wootton Bassett; but my friend Mrs. Hains of that place, remembers that cucking stool when in a perfect state, about sixty years ago; and in the same work there is also a lithograph of a trebucket cucking stool at Broadwater, near Worthing, from a drawing of the late Mr. Curwood, who remembered it as there represented, except that he did not see any one in it.

"In a paper in that work I have inserted all the information on cucking stools which I then possessed, and my present intention is to add such particulars as I have been able to collect as to the cucking stool at Leominster, and a few other particulars not included in my former paper.

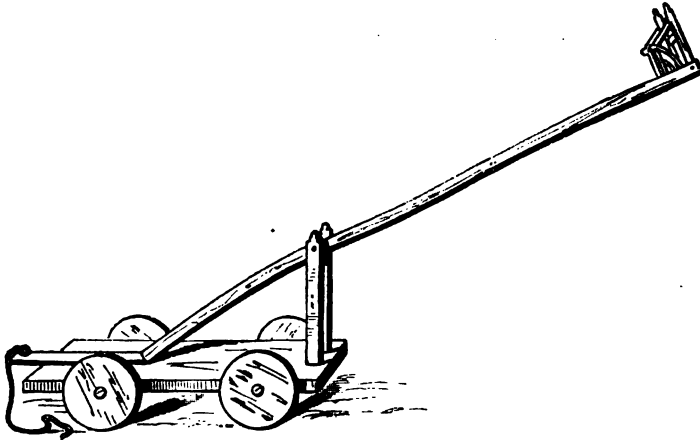
"The cucking stool at Leominster is neither the usual tumbrel nor the trebucket, but partakes of both. It is movable, and on four wheels, the chair is at the end of a beam, and is worked on the see-saw principle;

² An ammunition waggon, used in the war which ended in 1814, was called a tumbrel; and an implement of war, for throwing stones into besieged towns, a

trebucket. Grose's "Mil. Antiq." I. 332, and Gloss. to Sir S. Meyrick's "Ancien Armour," tit. Trebucket.

and I was told by Mr. Dickens, the registrar of births and deaths, that he recollected a woman called Jenny Pipes, but whose real name was Crump, who was ducked at Leominster in the year 1809, and who died at a very advanced age; and he also recollected Sarah Leeke being placed in this chair, and wheeled round the town, about the year 1817, but she could not be ducked as the water was too low.

"Mr. Dickens also stated that the persons ducked were immersed at three different parts of the town,—twice in the River Lug, and once in a pond; and that when the machine was wheeled through the town, the woman in the chair at the end of the beam was nearly as high as the first-floor windows



Cucking Stool in Leominster Church. Length, 23 feet 6 inches.

of the houses; and I have been told that the tomb of the person called Jenny Pipes is near the great west door of Leominster Church; and I am also informed by Mr. Bernhard Smith, that the chair of a cucking stool is in the Museum at Scarborough; by Mr. Hawkes, that a cucking stool still remains in St. Mary's Church, in Warwick; and by Mr. Pollard, that another still exists in the Town Hall of Ipswich.

"That there was a convicted scold at Newbury in the polite reign of King Charles II., is evidenced by the following entries in the Quarter Sessions Book of that place, of which I am favoured with copies by Mr. Vines, the Clerk of the Peace.

"Sessions 19 }
July, 24 Car. 2. } Burgess de Newbury.

"It. We present the Widdow Adames for a comon scould.

"Ordered to appeare at the next Sessions, being served with processe for that purpose."

"27 January, } Margaret Adams, widdow, hath appeared and pleaded
24 Car. 2. } not guilty to her Indictment for a comon scold, and put herself on the Jury, who, being sworne, say she is guilty of the Indictment against her.

"Cur. That she is to be ducked in the cucking stool according as the Mayor shall think the time fitting."

"In Shropshire, scolds existed to a later period; as I was told by

Mr. George Morris, the eminent genealogist and antiquary of this county, that his father saw a woman ducked at Whitchurch, about the year 1777, and that he himself saw a woman branked at Shrewsbury, in 1807. At Marlborough, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the cucking stool must have been in pretty frequent use, as it appears from the corporation accounts that the cucking stool there was repaired in 1580, repaired again in 1582, and in 1584 they were obliged to have a new one!

"The cucking stool at Marlborough appears to have been a fixed trebucket, and I am told by Mr. T. Baverstock Merriman, of that place, that, according to tradition, it was placed at the edge of the stream, near the south front of the Master's Lodge of Marlborough College.

"In conclusion, I may mention, as connected with scolds, but not with cucking stools, that I was informed by Mr. Alchin, the Librarian to the City of London, that in the journals of that corporation of the reign of Henry VIII. [Journ. 8, H. 8, 9], there is an entry that eight scolds were brought under the pillory in Cheapside, preceded by minstrels. Has the saying, as to 'paying the piper,' any reference to any matter of this kind?"

Mr. CARRINGTON also communicated the following method of preventing ancient pottery from crumbling:

"Mr. Rowell, the Deputy Curator of the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, uses the following process with great success:

"Dissolve a little patent size in a good deal of water, so as to make a very weak solution. Take the article of pottery, or the pieces of it, if it be in pieces, and having made them quite hot, apply the solution of the size to the inside of the pottery with a brush, and repeat this ten or twelve times: after this, the pieces may be joined with liquid glue. The object of heating the pottery is, that the solution may not chill before it gets into the pores of the pottery."

Mr. ALEXANDER NESBITT communicated a notice of an engraved brass triptych, originally placed in the chapel of the Madonna di Rocca-Melone, on the Alps. (Printed in this Journal, vol. xiv. p. 207.)

Mr. W. S. WALFORD communicated the following remarks on some remains of painting recently discovered in Eastry Church, Kent.

"About five years ago I had occasion to call attention very briefly to the church at Eastry, Kent, when I brought to the notice of the Institute a Table for finding the Sunday Letter, which is incised on one of the piers, and of which a woodcut is given in vol. ix. p. 389, of our Journal.³ On a recent visit I found some remains of early mural painting had been discovered there in July last. Only a small part was made out, and that alone continues any longer visible; yet, as it is of an unusual kind, I think some account of it may not be unacceptable.

"I would first mention that, unless the tower be an exception, the church is substantially Early English throughout, though several windows have been since inserted; some of them very recently, being restorations effected with more than ordinary care. Beside the tower, it consists of a nave with aisles and a chancel. At the east end of the latter is a triplet of lancet windows, with shafts and trifoliated escoisson (or hood) arches; and at the sides are single lancets, with the exception of the most easterly

³ The cut is through some inadvertence placed sideways, so that the top is towards the outer margin.

on the south side, which is now a modern window of two lights, and the original was probably of the same kind. The chancel arch is pointed with a chamfered soffit. The lower side windows of the nave were of three lights with pointed trefoil heads, each window being under a *semi-circular* escoinson arch: those of the clerestory are single lights with rounded trefoil heads. The piers between the nave and aisles are round with moulded capitals and bases, except one which is octagonal. If the tower be, as some have supposed, transitional, it is the oldest portion of the building. On the west side of the wall above the chancel arch was for many years some rough wood-work that had once supported canvas, on which the Ten Commandments were painted. In July last workmen were employed in taking this down, and preparing the whole west side of the wall for the reception of a coat of plaster and white-wash; when, after clearing away the wood-work, they came to some plaster on which were stars upon a dark ground; and on removing this they discovered considerable traces of earlier painting, for the most part too much obliterated to be made out; but immediately above the arch were fourteen circular medallions, nearly eighteen inches in diameter, arranged in two horizontal lines of seven each, with subjects in them; the fourth medallion in each row being exactly over the point of the arch; the lower one indeed was not a complete medallion, in consequence of the point of the arch interrupting it. The medallions are contiguous, both horizontally and perpendicularly, and in the intervening spaces are small sex-foils, or flowers of six petals. The whole were inclosed in a rectangular parallelogram, since obliterated; which, like a frame, separated them from the rest of the paintings. The face of the wall above the arch now appears flush; but the lower part was, for some little distance, thicker than the upper: it then fell back in a gentle slope, above which it presented another perpendicular face. This break in the surface of the wall must have made it unsuitable for any large subject. There were, however, traces of painting on both portions; but the two rows of medallions are on the lower portion of the wall only. The subjects in the upper row, taken in order from north to south, are as follows:—

“1. A lion passant to the sinister.

“2. A griffin (a figure with the fore quarters derived from an eagle, and the hinder from a lion) also passant, but to the dexter; so that Nos. 1 & 2 face each other.

“3. Two birds back to back, their wings closed, their heads turned backward, so that their beaks almost meet: between them are some traces of an object which was too much obliterated to be confidently made out, but probably a bunch of grapes on an erect stem.

“4. A conventional flower or floral device, not resembling any real flower, but such as is sometimes found on tiles and glass of the XIIIth century, consisting of an upright stem with a trefoil head; from which stem issue two pair of opposite shoots, terminating in irregular trefoils; the upper (being also the larger) slant upwards and then turn from the stem downwards, while the lower pair slant upwards, and then turn towards the stem.

“5. Two birds as No. 3, the intervening object also obliterated.

“6. A lion as No. 1.

“7. A griffin as No. 2.

“The subjects of the lower row are less clear, yet they appear to be the same as those in the upper, but rather differently arranged, viz.:—

- " 1. Obscure, but probably a griffin passant to the sinister.
- " 2. A lion passant to the dexter.
- " 3. Two birds as in the upper row, with the intervening object wanting.
- " 4. This subject is almost gone, but what remains is not inconsistent with the supposition of its having been a conventional flower, and in all probability it resembled No. 4 in the upper row.

" 5. Two birds as in the upper row, the intervening object also wanting.

" 6. Very obscure, but probably a griffin passant to the sinister.

" 7. Also obscure, but probably a lion passant to the dexter.

" The colours are chiefly black or a very dark brown, red, yellow, and a yellowish red, the ground being buff. The medallions are formed of a thin dark circular outline and two inner circles of broader lines, respectively dark, and either red or yellow, leaving in each a space of about thirteen inches in diameter clear for the several subjects the outlines of which appear to have been drawn very boldly with a full brush and a free hand, like what are often seen in painted glass of the XIIIth century. The colours seem sunk into the ground, as if, like frescoes, they were laid on wet plaster; but it is possible that the rubbing they have suffered from time to time may have given them this appearance. The yellows are very much faded, and the reds have lost much of their original colour, and are a good deal blackened. It is remarkable, that the object between the two birds should in every instance have almost disappeared: in one it should seem to have been erased, but this may be the effect of accident or carelessness in removing the plaster that overlaid it.

" Two birds with a vase, cup, grapes, or a vine between them are found in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries, associated with Christian symbols in such a manner as to leave no reasonable doubt of their having had a symbolic meaning of a sacred character. On the old font in Winchester Cathedral they are to be seen at the top, in two of the corners, with a vase between them, out of which they appear to be drinking, and a cross is issuing from it. They occur also on one side no less than three times in as many circular medallions: in the middle one they have grapes between them, which they are pecking; in the other two medallions they are back to back with their heads reversed, and what may have been intended for grapes between, or rather above them, which they disregard: all these are doves. A sepulchral slab at Bishopston, Sussex (Sussex Archaeological Collections, ii. p. 281), has on it, within three circular medallions formed of a cable moulding, a cross, an *Agnus Dei*, and two birds, similar in form and attitude to those at Eastry, with a vase between them, into which their beaks are inserted. Such birds, with a vase or plant between them, are not unfrequently to be seen on tiles of the XIIIth century, and also occasionally on seals, and sometimes on caskets, and various other objects, in most cases probably a mere ornament, though derived from examples that were significant. The device is Italian, and may be traced back to the early mosaics, as in the Church of *S. Apollinare Nuovo*, at Ravenna, which is considered to be of the VIth century; and even to the Christian memorials in the Catacombs of Rome, where two birds occur, as shown by Aringhi and others, not only with a vase or vine, but also sometimes with a cross, and sometimes with the Christian monogram between them, leaving no doubt of their having had a religious meaning. On the tomb at Ravenna, supposed to be that of the Emperor Honorius, is a vase between two birds, apparently about to drink out of it; and on another tomb there,

said to have been erected by Theodoric, King of the Visigoths, is a cross between two birds, with other Christian sculpture; and also on a sarcophagus at San Stefano, Bologna. Like some other Christian symbols in the Catacombs, this was, in all probability, derived from a Pagan device, but with some modifications to give it a Christian signification. On one tomb there, no doubt a Pagan memorial, were two birds looking at an altar between them, on which was a small fire (Agincourt, tom. v. pl. 7). To enter fully into this curious subject would far exceed the limits of a paper appropriate to the present occasion. Assuming, as I think we safely may, that the birds in Eastry Church formed part of a Christian symbol, it is highly probable from what remains, that the object between them was a bunch of grapes on an upright stem; a form, however unnatural, that is sometimes met with. I am aware that a wheat-ear is spoken of as symbolising the body of the Saviour, and that a basket with apparently fruit or little cakes between two birds is to be found among the devices in the catacombs; still grapes appear to me best to agree with the faint traces of the object in this instance. In the earliest examples the birds were most likely intended for doves, though in later times no particular kind of bird was uniformly represented. The more prevalent opinion, I believe, is, that they symbolised the faithful, and the vase, cup, or grapes the blood of the Saviour. Some have supposed them to signify the Jewish and Christian churches looking to or sharing in the benefits purchased by the Saviour's passion and death. This seems a little too imaginative. I have, however, heard of or seen an example, that I cannot now find, in which one of the birds fronts the cup or bunch of grapes, and the other is back to it, but with the head reversed so as to reach it with the beak. The symbol in this form, if at all, would more easily admit of such explanation. Dr. Milner supposed the doves on the Winchester font, with the vase between them, were emblematic of the Holy Spirit breathing into phials containing the two kinds of sacred chrism used in baptism (History of Winchester, ii. p. 76). But the early examples show the improbability of this; add to which, the Holy Spirit was not likely to be represented by *two* doves.

"Now, if the birds in question at Eastry were a Christian symbol, it is highly probable the subjects of the other medallions were so too. The floral device, which, it will be observed, is in the middle of each row, and thus had some degree of importance given to it, may be an emblem of the Virgin, who was often symbolised by a lily, and not unfrequently by some conventional form of flower, having little or no resemblance to a lily; as is exemplified on many seals of the XIIth and XIIIth centuries.

"The lion may have referred to the Saviour, who, as the lion of the tribe of Judah, is sometimes so represented. It is thus the lion has been understood on the old font at Winchester before mentioned, on one side of which are three circular medallions; in the middle one is a lion, and in each of the others a dove.

"To the griffin it is more difficult to assign its signification. It is rarely found among Christian symbols. It has been not unfrequently, and even by some mediæval writers, confounded with the dragon, which had not the hind quarters of a lion, but the tail of a serpent, and generally meant the evil one, or at an earlier period Paganism. I have mentioned that both the lion and the griffin are passant, a peaceful attitude; and the former has no preference of place. A griffin and a lion, both also passant, confronting

each other, and without any indication of hostility, occur on the old font in Lincoln Cathedral; which is about contemporary with that of Winchester, judging from an engraving of the former in Simpson's *Ancient Fonts*. The other sculptures on it are not given so as to enable me to judge of their import. A writer in the *Vetusta Monumenta* ii. pl. 40, p. 6, speaks of there being three griffins upon it. A lion and a griffin, both passant, and each in a circle, were two of the three animal subjects often repeated in the pavement of tiles in the chapter-house at Salisbury. The other was the two birds, but with a flower or plant between them. That pavement may be referred to the latter part of the XIIIth century. The griffin is found, too, on early seals, as a personal device, where it is hardly to be supposed to have had any discreditable significance; and it afterwards, we all know, became heraldic. Being composed of part of an eagle and part of a lion, it is likely to have been emblematic of the most honourable and admirable qualities attributed to each; and, associated as it is on this occasion, we may reasonably presume it had some religious or sacred meaning, though what that was has not been discovered.

"What has been said of the church and of the style of the painting has indicated the date that I am disposed to assign to these pictorial remains. They must belong to the latter half of the XIIIth century, and can hardly be later than the beginning of the reign of Edward I. Those on the upper portion of the wall should seem to have been of a subsequent period, if, as I understand was the fact, there were some fragments of black letter inscriptions in them. They may have been of the same date as the stars on a dark ground upon the plaster that overlaid the medallions that I have described. Should it occur to any one, that these medallions may have represented part of a pavement, I would observe that they appear too large for any subject suitable for the space, and, beside that there were only two rows, and that they were inclosed in a rectangular parallelogram, there was not the slightest attempt at anything like perspective in the drawing.

"I may add, that these remains have been left free from whitewash, and I have reason to hope they will be preserved."

Antiquities and Marks of Art exhibited.

By Mr. HEWITT, with the permission of the Hon. Board of Ordnance.—A German tilting-saddle of the XVth century, an account of which will be found in this volume, p. 20.—A two-handed sword of the XVth century, the blade of which is rudely damascened in gold.—A helmet with a falling bevor of the XVIth century.—A cuirass of the latter half of the XVIth century, the breast-plate opens down the middle like a waistcoat, and is attached by hinges to the back-plate. It was originally purchased at Ratisbon. The three last objects were from the collection of the late Earl of Shrewsbury, and were purchased for the tower armoury at Alton Towers.

By the Rev. W. H. GUNNER.—A ring-dial or "journey-ring" of brass, found in a farm-house at Sparsholt, near Winchester. It is $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. It resembles a specimen formerly in Mr. Whincopp's possession, and now forms part of the extensive series of similar instruments belonging to Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P. The latter specimen is engraved in Halliwell's *Shakespeare*, vol. vi. p. 147, illustrating the passage in *As You Like It*, act ii., scene 7.

December 4, 1857.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, ESQ., M.P., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Rev. JOHN AUSTEN communicated a notice of some tumuli and remarkable deposits on Holm Heath, Dorsetshire, which will be noticed more fully hereafter.

Mr. GEORGE V. DU NOYER, M.R.I.A., communicated a memoir on the remains of ancient stone-built fortresses and habitations occurring to the west of Dingle, County Kerry (printed in this volume p. 20).

The Hon. R. C. NEVILLE, furnished an account of his recent excavations at Great Chesterford, Cambridgeshire, and exhibited an armlet of Kimmeridge shale, one of the objects which he had found in the course of these new researches. It is a fresh example of the occurrence of objects of that material with Roman remains at the station at Chesterford, of which two remarkable specimens were exhibited at the meetings of the Institute in February, 1857, by Mr. Neville—namely, two drum-shaped vessels or pyxes, one of which is engraved in the fourteenth volume of this Journal, p. 85. Mr. Neville states that:—

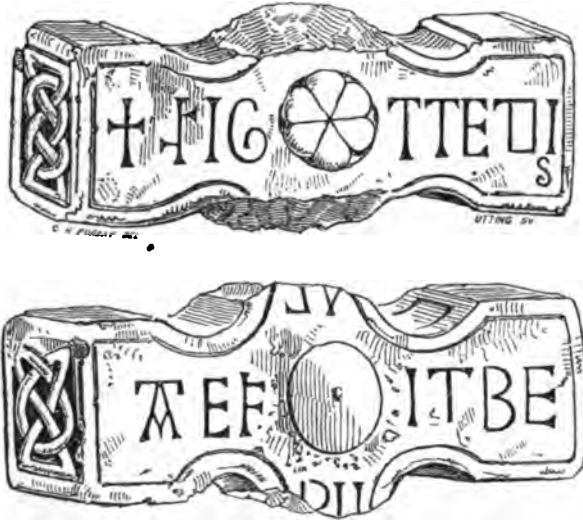
“The armlet of Kimmeridge coal was found in a grave 3 feet deep at the feet of a skeleton, together with three flat armlets of bronze. Under the right arm of the skeleton stood a small black vase of Roman ware, nearly perfect. The discovery took place on the 9th of November last, at a spot outside the walls of the station at Chesterford. I send also for examination another relique recently discovered in my excavations, viz., a stylus, of a form not unusual, having at one extremity a small flat spatula, which probably served in smoothing the wax, or erasing any erroneous writing. This stylus is however remarkable as being formed of silver, which I believe is uncommon. No other object of this description, of that metal, has been found in the course of my researches.”

Dr. BRUCE took occasion to advert to the progress of archæological researches in the North of England, owing in a great measure to the generous encouragement afforded to such enquiries by the Duke of Northumberland. The survey of the wall, executed by Mr. Maclauchlan, under the Duke's directions, had been engraved at his Grace's expense, and would afford a large mass of accurate information to the student of Roman remains in Britain. Mr. Maclauchlan is now engaged by his Grace to execute some further surveys in Northumberland. Dr. Bruce likewise mentioned that the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle were about to publish a complete Corpus Inscriptionum of the Roman period in Northumberland, more especially in connexion with the Roman Wall and its stations. The outlay requisite for the extensive illustrations of this work in which every Roman inscription or sculpture of value is to be carefully figured, will be in a great measure defrayed by the Duke of Northumberland. The compilation of this work had been attended with considerable difficulties, owing to the inaccessible situations of many of the inscriptions. The illustrations have been entrusted to Mr. Mossman, of Newcastle, an artist who had shown great skill in delineating ancient remains.

Mr. HEWITT, exhibited a photograph from one side of the base of

Trajan's column at Rome, among the various kinds of armour of which the trophies on the base are formed may be clearly distinguished hauberks of chain mail. The employment of mailed defences during the Imperial sway in Rome has been questioned by some antiquaries. Dr. Bruce placed before the meeting a drawing by Mr. Mossman, which furnished a remarkable confirmation of the existence of mail at that period. During the excavations at the Roman station of Bremenium in Redesdale, a mass of oxidised iron resembling ore was found amidst numerous Roman remains, and proved on examination to be wholly composed of chain mail. It is now in the Duke of Northumberland's museum at Alnwick Castle. A similar example of the *Lorica Catenata* was found last year at Chester-le-street. Among the antiquities from Stanwick presented to the British Museum by the Duke of Northumberland, are several lumps of chain mail much decayed.

Mr. C. H. PURDAY, communicated a drawing of a fragment of an ancient cross, lately found in the cathedral precincts, Carlisle, in digging the foundations for an addition to Canon Harcourt's house. It bears part of an inscription which appears to have been continued on the two sides of the head of the cross. The fragment is formed of light coloured



Fragment of a Saxon Cross. Found within the Cathedral precincts, Carlisle. Width $12\frac{3}{4}$ in.

sandstone, the same material as another cross found at Carlisle, which was communicated to the Institute by Mr. Purday, and published in vol. xii. p. 180, of this Journal. This sandstone had been used only in the oldest parts of the fabric of the Cathedral. Mr. Westwood considers that the date of the fragment recently found is about the year 700. Its dimensions are as follows:—width $12\frac{3}{4}$ in., height $4\frac{1}{4}$ in., thickness 3 in. The forms of the letters resemble those in the Durham Book, the Gospels in the Book of St. Chad at Lichfield, and the Gospels of Mac Regol in the Bodleian

Library, all of these being MSS. of that period. The peculiar form of S to be seen on one side of the Carlisle fragment, after the cross which precedes a word, probably the name of a female, occurs in the Durham Book, and in the great illuminated pages at the commencement of each Gospel in the Book of St. Chad.

The Rev. Dr. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE, author of "The History of the Roman Wall," brought a weapon of great rarity found at a depth of 36 feet in a well at Carvoran, *Magna*, one of the Stations on the line of the Wall. It is a javelin, or spear-head, of iron, measuring $21\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with very long barbs, (see woodcut), and is supposed to have been used as a missile weapon. It has been presented to the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. It bears close resemblance to the weapon described by Mr. Wylie, and other archæologists, as the *Angon* of the Franks. Agathias, who wrote in the sixth century, describes the mode in which such missile weapons were employed by the Frankish warriors.



Iron Javelin Head, Carvoran, Northumberland. Length $21\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Mr. BOWYER, M.P., communicated, through Mr. W. J. Bernard Smith, an extract from the will of Fulk Eyton, Esq., dated at Shrawardine, Salop, Feb. 18, 1451, and proved Dec. 12, 1454; relating to his having brought back to England the bones of John Earl of Arundel, mortally wounded at the assault of the Castle of Gerberoy, in May, 1434, in order that the same might be buried in the collegiate Church of Arundel. The passage in the will is as follows:—"Also I woll that my Lord of Arundell that now is aggre and compoune with you my seide executors for the bones of my Lord John his brother that I broughte oute of Franco, for the which cariage of bones and oute of the Frenchemennys handes delyveraunce he oweth me a M. marc & iiij. c. and after myn Executours byn compouned with I woll that the bones ben buried in the Collage of Arundell after his entent, and so I to be praide for in the Collage of Arundell and Almehouse perpetually." The altar tomb believed to be that of the Earl John having lately been opened in presence of the Duke of Norfolk, Lady Victoria Fitzalan Howard, the Rev. Canon Tierney, and others, bones were found beneath it in a coffin of wood, much decayed, supposed to be oak; the skull in several pieces, one thigh-bone was missing. It appears from Monstrelet and Hall that the earl had been struck on the ankle by a shot from a culverin, which shattered his leg: he was taken prisoner and removed to Beauvais, where he died of the effects of his wound, June 12, in the following year. Monstrelet states that his remains were interred in the church of the Cordeliers at that place. Yet it thus appears highly probable that they were brought to England, and deposited in the place directed by his will, which is dated April 8, 1430. A description and view of the tomb is given in Mr. Tierney's *History of Arundel*, vol. ii., p. 625, and more detailed representations of the effigy may be found in Stothard's *Monumental Effigies*.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. ALBERT WAY.—Two gold torques or *armillæ* each formed of a thin band of gold, twisted spirally and with recurved ends. They resembled the ornaments found at Largo, in Fifeshire, one of which is engraved in this Journal, vol vi., p. 53. The specimens exhibited were said to have been found with about forty others on the Law farm, near Elgin. Four bracelets, probably part of this discovery, have been recently added to the collection in the British Museum. Fragments of ornaments very similar in make and appearance are to be seen in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.

By the Rev. Dr. COLLINGWOOD BRUCE.—The bottom of a bronze *trulla* or skillet, apparently of Roman workmanship; and an object of bronze of unknown use, found in a large camp in Northumberland, called "the Guards," near Percy's Cross. These objects are the property of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, by whose kind permission they were exhibited.

By Dr. CHARLTON.—The brass umbo of a shield, found at Matfen, Northumberland, within a short distance of the Roman wall. A notice of which will be found in this Volume, p. 30.

By the Rev. JOHN AUSTEN.—A fragment of a "Samian" saucer, stamped with the potter's mark GENITOR F. It was found in a large deposit of black mould, with a considerable quantity of broken pottery of black and reddish coloured wares, a few pieces of Kimmeridge "coal-money," and portions of the shale used in their manufacture. There were also found on the same site three diminutive round shafts of stone, measuring 2 ft. in height, and resembling the supports of a rick-frame commonly used at the present time. It was supposed that they might have served to support a kind of *suspensura*, possibly the floor of a potter's kiln. There were also portions of querns, stones from various localities, but no coins or objects of metal. These remains were found on the property of Mr. N. Bond, at the Grange, Dorset: the sub-stratum is pipe-clay, suitable for pottery works; close at hand there is a bed of quartz sand of excellent quality, and springs of water. The spot is on the north side of the chalk range indicated on the Ordnance maps of that part of the coast of Dorset. About two miles to the west is Povington, where much pottery and "coal-money" are found; at no great distance are Warborough and Kimmeridge Bays, where the "coal-money" has been found in abundance, as has been fully related by Mr. Austen, in the Transactions of the Purbeck Society, in his memoir on the relics so termed. The fragment bearing the name of *Genitor* is the only portion of Samian which has been found at the Grange; but a few remains of that ware have occurred at Warborough and at Kimmeridge, as also in a deposit at Encombe similar to that above noticed. These particulars are not undeserving of record, as indications of occupation of these parts of the coast of Dorset in Roman times; showing also the possibility that potteries, as also manufactories of Kimmeridge coal, may have been there established at that period.

By Mr. AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.—Various Roman remains, the property of Sir George Musgrave, Bart., found at Kirkby Thore, in Westmoreland, in making a bridge over the River Troutbeck. The circumstances of this discovery are detailed by Captain W. H. Smyth in the *Archæologia*,

xxi. 279. Sir George Musgrave has since liberally presented these antiquities to the British Museum.

By the Rev. J. LEE WARNER.—Saxon urn and ornaments of bronze found in Norfolk.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A ring which had belonged to Cardinal Gabriel Condolmerio, afterwards Pope Eugenius IV. A ring bearing the family arms and the devices of Pope Eugenius IV., elected 1431, died 1447. It is set with a flat table of glass in imitation of a ruby. The ornaments are very delicately engraved.—Ring without any name, but apparently of the time of Pope Pius II. (1458 to 1464). On one side are engraved the keys of St. Peter, and on the other a double-headed eagle crowned with a ducal coronet.—A massive gold signet ring, engraved with a merchant's mark, and on the hoop the name *Henry Smale*. There are traces of enamel. It is of English workmanship, and of the fourteenth century.—A Cingalese book written on the leaves of the Palmyra Palm with a stylus, from the celebrated Buddhist monastery at Damboul, in Ceylon.—A stylus employed in writing Cingalese manuscripts such as the one above mentioned.



Signet of Henry Smale. Full size.

By Mr. FAULKNER.—Sacring bell, found built up in the wall which blocked up a circular-headed window over the south entrance of Deddington Church, Oxon.—A fragment of a vase, which was found in a stone box, placed at the head of a stone coffin of an Augustinian Monk or Knight Hospitaller, discovered at Chacombe Priory, Northamptonshire.

By Mr. FENWICK, of Newcastle.—A white porcelain cup, apparently of ancient Oriental manufacture, ornamented with a pattern, representing the *Pyrus Japonica* in relief. It was stated to have been a gift sent by Queen Elizabeth to Essex, while he was imprisoned in the Tower, and to have been the cup from which he received the Holy Sacrament on the morning of his execution. It was subsequently in the possession of the Countess of Tyrconnel.

By Mr. WHINCOPP.—A quarry of painted glass, stated to have been taken from the windows of some church in the neighbourhood of Framlingham, in Suffolk. The device is a pomegranate, some of the grains are seen through a small opening on one side of the shell. On a scroll above is the inscription in Black Letter,—“*Quod deus conjunxit homo non separat.*” A very similar quarry from Brandeston Church, Suffolk, is engraved in Mr. Franks’ “*Book of Ornamental Glazing Quarries*,” pl. 103. This curious device refers apparently to Catherine of Arragon, and from the appearance of the glass it would seem to have been painted before the question of her divorce was agitated.

By Mr. W. BURGESS.—A shell of the *Murex trunculus*, one of the species that was used by the ancients in dyeing purple, discovered at Athens, with many others, in 1857, during excavations made in the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, which is supposed to have been subsequently used as a manufactory of purple.—Several beautiful objects in metal damascened with gold and silver, and a small ornamental fountain; all obtained in Constantinople.

By Mr. GREATHEAD.—Two windows of painted glass of recent manufacture.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SUSSEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS, relating to the History and Antiquities of the County. Published by the Sussex Archaeological Society. Vol. ix. London: John Russell Smith.

WE have the pleasure of welcoming another volume of these Collections, in no respect unworthy of the preceding. It is curious to remark the diversities in the success of the various provincial societies, that have taken the relics of bygone times under their care. We witness all degrees, from the palmy state of that of Sussex to the condition of some that might be named, which hardly contrive to manifest any signs of life. Something, no doubt, is due to the management of Committees, and perhaps more to the qualifications of a secretary; yet, after all, much, in all probability, is to be attributed to the inhabitants themselves of the counties or districts. We fear there are still not a few people of position and education in some localities, among whom no secretary could make archaeological subjects popular, nor the most exemplary of Committees render a Society of the kind prosperous. The humbler classes are often found to take more pleasure in what reveals the past than those whose external advantages are greater. The principal use of such societies is to awaken those influential persons in the several grades of life, whom the metropolitan societies cannot reach, to feel an interest in what has occurred or existed in their own county or neighbourhood; persons, in whom at present there is no archaeological taste, no sentiment of respect for the olden time, to respond to an appeal made to them from a distance. The Institute and Association have both done something towards this object by their annual meetings at divers places. Still much remains to be done before the history and antiquities of this country can receive the attention that they merit. The county of Sussex stands conspicuous for the response which all classes have given to its local antiquaries; and its inhabitants may proudly point to their nine volumes of Archaeological Collections, as an example and encouragement to others, showing what may be done with a subscription of ten shillings a-year. Similar zeal and equal industry judiciously applied might doubtless have produced ample harvests in counties where at present all seems barren. This new volume is an unequivocal sign of continuing prosperity. It is even larger than any of the former. Whether it be prudent to go on increasing the size of their annual publication, may deserve the consideration of the Committee. To those gentlemen we are indebted for permission to use the woodcuts which illustrate this notice of the present volume. We are glad to see that their printer has done more ample justice to the artists than on some former occasions.

The articles are too numerous to be all noticed in detail. Many of our readers will recollect an interesting account given by Mr. Barclay Phillips, of Brighton, at our monthly meeting in March 1856, of the removal

of a mound at Hove, which proved to be a sepulchral tumulus, and of the discovery of an amber cup and some other objects; a report of which communication is given in vol. xiii. p. 183, of this Journal. It was then understood that the subject would be more fully treated in the Sussex Archæological Collections, and we have here his more particular description of the discovery and objects, with woodcuts of the latter. As mentioned in the report referred to, some workmen employed in removing the tumulus found the remains of an oaken coffin that lay nearly east and west about 9 feet below the surface. "In the earth," says Mr. B. Phillips, "with which the coffin was filled were numerous small fragments of carious bone, apparently charred, some of which were picked out; and about the centre, as if, said one of the men, they had rested on the breast of the body interred, were found the following curious relics:—1. An amber cup, hemispherical in shape, rather deep in proportion to its width, with a 'lip' or 'nick,' and ornamented merely with a band of fine lines running round the outside, about half an inch from the top. There is one handle, large enough for the insertion of a finger, ornamented with a fillet on each side of the surface, which is flat, similar to that on the cup itself. From the fact of the rim not being perfectly round, and the band before mentioned not passing over the space within the handle, and its being marked off with a line at each end, seemingly cut across, we may conjecture it to have been made and carved by hand. There are two small chips in the rim. That on the left of the handle is fresh, and was caused by the man who found the cup accidentally striking it, as he told me, with his spade, when he first came upon it; that on the right is not so large, but is ancient, as is shown by its appearance. The cup is perfectly smooth inside and out, excepting where the earth in which it was buried still adheres to the surface; but since its exhumation the amber has cracked slightly in every part. On the cup being lifted by the handle, this broke into two pieces, having received a blow from the workman's spade, but fortunately the fragments fit very exactly, and I have therefore easily repaired it." Then follow the dimensions of the cup, expressed in inches and decimal parts; and according to them he finds by calculation that the capacity of it is a little more than half a pint. The other objects were,—2. A head of an axe, made of some kind of ironstone, 5 inches long, 1·9 wide in the broadest part, and 0·8 of an inch thick. It is in perfect preservation, with a hole neatly drilled through the centre. 3. A small whetstone 2·7 inches long, 0·6 inch wide in the centre, 0·35 inch thick at the centre, and tapering off slightly at each extremity. There is a small hole neatly drilled through one end, and the surface appears partially encrusted with some oxide or paint of a red colour. 4. A bronze dagger, very much oxidised, and so brittle that it broke into halves as it was being taken out of the ground. Two of the rivets, and fragments or traces of the bone handle, still remain attached to the lower end of the blade. Dimensions: length 5·5 inches, width at lower end 2·4 inches, thickness at ditto 0·3 inch. With reference to the cup, about which doubts had been expressed whether it really was amber, he says: "Several small fragments of the broken handle have been submitted by me, in conjunction with Mr. Richard Noakes of Brighton, to chemical test, and, according to these, proved to be amber. Similar experiments were made by us on other pieces of amber, with the like results. We also boiled some pieces of amber in spirits of turpentine, and found the process rendered them quite plastic while warm, so that the amber could be



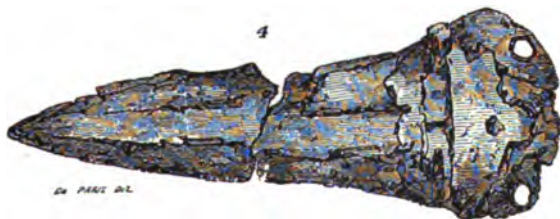
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Antiquities discovered in a Barrow at Hove.

moulded with the fingers. This may assist our conjectures, how the cup was worked and made, and I am not aware that the experiment of boiling amber has ever been tried before. Perhaps the ancient Scandinavians had some secret by which they could soften it, by holding it over a fire of green pinewood." Whatever might be the effect of the process here suggested, the fact of amber being susceptible of being made plastic is worthy of notice; for it may open the way to explain how certain objects made of amber had their form imposed upon them.

We may mention, in connection with these early antiquities, that Mr. P. J. MARTIN has reprinted in this volume a notice, hitherto little known, of a tumulus which existed some years ago near Pulborough, but has been wholly destroyed. It was 80 feet in diameter, and 3 feet high, and resembled what is called a "pond barrow." At the base, except for about 4 feet towards the east, was a circle of stones like the foundation of a wall, about 4 feet thick, in the construction of which cement had been used. As the tumulus did not prove to be sepulchral, it is supposed to have been the remains of a British hut; and in aid of this supposition he refers to what are considered to have been the remains of a British settlement about a quarter of a mile distant.

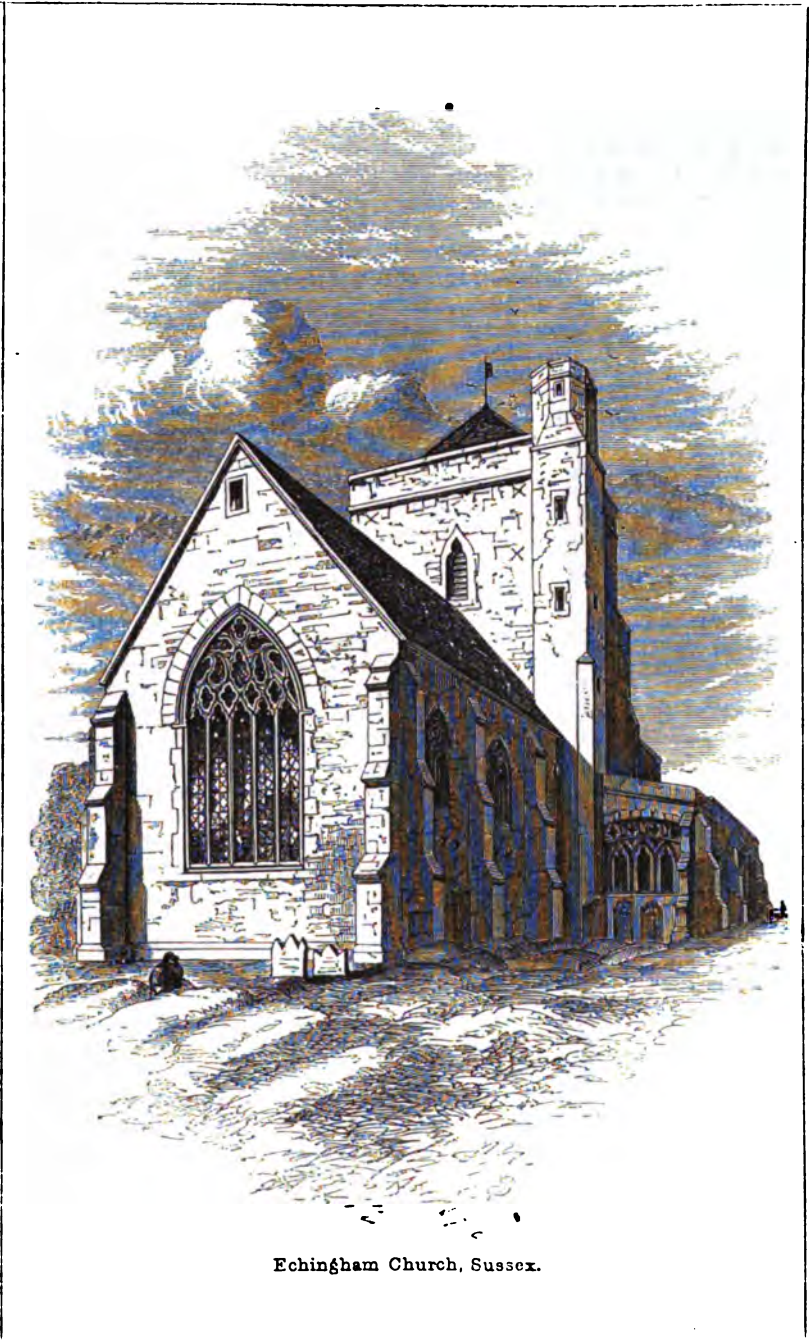


Sculpture in Rottingdean Church.

The Rev. A. HUSSEY has contributed some notes of discoveries made during the repair and enlargement of Rottingdean Church, in 1855. Of these one of the most remarkable is the bracket of which we reproduce the woodcut. It seems to point to an early date, and may, judging from the design of the ornament, have even been of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. That church was found to have had, like Fletching and Portslade, the floor sloping from east to west.

In some notes by Mr. LOWER on the Churches of Newhaven and Denton, he has pointed out a remarkable resemblance between the former and the Church of Yainville, in Normandy, of which illustrations, after sketches by himself, are given in two anastatic drawings by the late Mr. Hurdis, to whose liberality and artistic skill the Sussex Society has on several occasions been indebted. A description of Newhaven Church by Mr. Petit, with a woodcut of it, was published in Vol. VI. p. 138, of this Journal, and, but for the expense of printing, we would gladly have availed ourselves of the kind permission of the Sussex Committee to use the plate of Yainville Church, for comparison with the woodcut given by Mr. Petit. In both these churches the chancel was a semicircular apse, and the tower intervened between it and the nave, a very unusual plan. Newhaven Church has since undergone considerable alteration. Denton Church calls for no particular remark. At the end of this paper is noticed the change from natural causes in the outfall of the Ouse from Seaford to Meeching; whence the latter place came to be called Newhaven.

Mr. WILLIAM SLATER has furnished a description of Echingham Church. This interesting structure, situate between Tunbridge Wells and Hastings, and remarkable for the beauty of its windows, which have been sometimes, though erroneously, called Flamboyant, is most likely known to many of our readers. It is one of the few churches of which the date is well attested; having been built by Sir William de Etchingham, who died in January, 1389. From a genealogical sketch of the family, which precedes the description of it, he appears to have succeeded to the manor in 1349, when sixteen years of age. The brass representing him, and recording his death, is well known to the collectors of rubbings from such memorials, and also the brass plate, from which we learn that he rebuilt the church. A trefoil headed doorway in the chancel, supposed by Mr. Slater to have been of the time of King John and built into the new work, has led him to think the former church was of that period; but there is so much that is peculiar, not to say anomalous, in the architecture that it is by no means clear, that this doorway is not coeval with the present building. "Echingham Church," says Mr. Slater, "is particularly valuable and interesting, not only for the boldness and beauty of its outline and proportions, and the elegance and variety of its details, but also for the peculiarities in their form and style, and for its height, which, for a village church of its dimensions, is unusually great in proportion to its length and breadth, and for the completeness of the design, which is all of one date, excepting only the door before referred to. There is altogether, in the whole design, and also in the tracery and details, a tendency to the style of our continental neighbours, which has led some to think that it may have been the work of a foreign architect." It consists of a chancel of somewhat unusual length in proportion to the other parts, and a nave with two aisles, the east end in both aisles being dedicated as chantries, and preserving to this day, in some respects, the distinctive character of these appendages. The nave has a clerestory, and the tower is a central one. The south aisle has attached to it a very small wooden porch. There is reason to think that a sacristy, or vestry, was attached to the north side of the chancel, where a few corbel stones and other slight traces remain. "The chancel measures 43 feet 3 inches by 21 feet, and is divided in length into three bays, each bay being provided with a two-light window on each side, the six windows exhibiting varieties of flowing tracery, which commences below the springing of the window arches. The east window is one



Echingham Church, Sussex.

of great beauty, and nearly unique ; but it is curious that the church at Lindfield, in the centre of the county, has a window identical in design, though Lindfield Church does not possess any other feature at all of the foreign type so strongly marked in the tracery of this window. The Lindfield window is drawn in Brandon's *Analysis of Gothic Architecture*. There are sedilia and a piscina on the south side. The trefoil-headed door in the same side of early date has been already referred to. The chancel roof is well pitched, and of the ordinary tie beam and king-post kind of Kent and Sussex, but was not originally plastered as it is now, the timbers having been at first exposed to view. The nave and aisles, with their chantries, are of equal length, viz. 47 feet 2 inches ; the total width from north to south being 49 feet 6 inches. The north aisle is slightly wider than the south, the difference being only ten inches ; so slight that it is difficult to assign a reason for so trifling a variation from uniformity. The nave, like the chancel, is divided in length into three bays, and over the eastern one is the tower, carried on four simple arches, and, rising above the nave roof, it terminates with a plain parapet and low pyramidal roof, having on its apex the original vane." A vane of the latter part of the XIVth century is so rare, that the woodcut of this is given in the margin. "It is of copper, banner shaped, about 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, by 1 foot $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, somewhat irregular in outline, and with an ornamented top. It is about 1-16th of an inch in thickness, and pierced so as to display an escutcheon fretty of six pieces for the arms of Echingham. Thus it resembles the banner of Sir William, except that a banner would have had the arms on the banner itself as the field, and not on an escutcheon. In each of the lower spandrels is a pointed trefoil. The clips or hinges, which are of iron, are $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in bore, and fastened on with rivets. They are probably at least the third set. There are some vacant rivet holes on both the longer sides, and also at the bottom. Those near the present clips were no doubt used for fastening former ones; but the holes on the opposite side and at the bottom may have served to attach slight ornamental appendages, such as are sometimes represented on early vanes."

"The aisle windows are of two lights in the sides and west end, and of three lights in the east end, all having flat segmental heads arched in one curve ; and the tracery is very peculiar in its treatment. Besides the south entrance, there is a western door in the centre of the end of the nave. The west window over the door is small, though of three lights, and with tracery of very uncommon design, commencing, as that in the chancel



Vane, Echingham.

windows, below the springing." The nave-roof is of the tie-beam kind, well-pitched; and the clerestory of good height, with windows similar to those of the aisles. The roofs are all covered with tiles. Mr. Slater proceeds to describe the font and the brasses in the church, mentions the painted heraldic glass which was formerly in the window, and gives from Hayley's MSS. the numerous coats of arms that were in them in his time, but few of which are now remaining. The arms that were in the chancel seem all referable to about 1376; some in the nave are those of different members of the Echingham family, and would seem to indicate a date a year or two later; so that in all probability 1380 is very near the time when the church was completed. It had become much out of repair, and Mr. Slater has been engaged in restoring it. We hope the scraper has been applied less unmercifully to the original mouldings and tracery than is usually the case on such occasions. It is much to be regretted that, when the alarming process of restoration does take place, the new portions of the mouldings and tracery are not made to look like the old which remain, instead of the old being made like the new, by their being both scraped to a uniform appearance.

From the Rev. H. R. HOARE we have some notes on Buxted Church; a matter-of-fact paper of a class to be encouraged. It is somewhat after the scheme put forth some years ago by the Cambridge Camden Society for taking church notes. Here and there is some obscurity in the language, due, perhaps, to the endeavour to be brief. We may mention, in passing, that in the copy of the inscription which was on the sepulchral slab of Sir John de Lewes, p. 214, the first *tut* should have been *tut*, for *toute*; and in that on the slab commemorative of John Warnett, p. 219, *Benobis* is doubtless a misreading. It has been suggested that it would not be difficult to make out a very probable case for its having been *Ben'of &c* for *generosi et*. If any so-called restoration of this church be in contemplation, as recommended in the last paragraph of these notes of Mr. Hoare, we hope care will be taken that what escapes the chisel is not destroyed by the scraper.

The Rev. G. M. COOPER has contributed a paper on Bayham Abbey, giving some account of the origin and history of this Premonstratensian establishment. He has brought to light some documentary matter not before printed, we believe, from the Chartulary and other manuscripts in the Ashmolean Museum. The visitations disclose some curious glimpses of the inner life of a monastery of this kind. The frequent change of the Abbots is remarkable, and there are several incidents, which, if our space allowed, we should have been tempted to notice more or less in detail. Some glossarial words also invite remark, but we will only mention "*Deywercis of land*," which we take to have been quantities of land, each held by the service of the tenant working one day in the year for his lord. The quantity would not be certain, but it would in general depend on the fertility of the land, whether a greater or less quantity was granted to be held by that amount of service.

Mr. BLAAUW has furnished a paper on the Preceptories of the Knights Templars at Sadelescombe and Shipley; in which, after noticing the great privileges of the Order in regard to property, he shows from whom and when many of the lauds attached to these preceptories were acquired, and identifies Sadelescombe, about which there had been great obscurity, with an extensive manor in Newtimber and some adjoining parishes, instead of

with the parish of Sedlescombe, near Battle. Some of the items in the valuations of the lands and goods of the Order at those places at the time of its suppression are curious, but none give any support to the charge of luxury. Among the travelling equipage at Shipley were *ij sakadras cum ij barhud* (two clothes-bags, with two trunks): the latter word, as "barhyde" and "barehidez," had been supposed to be bearskins, in one of the Surtees Society's publications. There follow some particulars of the seizure and trial, not to say persecution, of the unfortunate knights, especially with reference to those connected with these subordinate houses.

From the diligent pen of Mr. LOWER we have an account of Bodiam and its lords. The history of the lordship is traced through the De Bodiams and Wardieus to the Dalyngrugges, one of whom, Sir Edward, who had been a soldier under Sir Robert Knollys, and enriched himself in those marauding expeditions which followed the wars of Edward III. in France, erected the castle, having had a licence for that purpose dated in 9 Rich. II. From him the proprietorship of the lordship and castle is deduced through



Brass of Sir John Bodiam.

the Lewknors to the present time. A brief notice of the church intervenes, which contains little of interest beside a fragment of a brass commemorative of one of the De Bodiams, of which we are glad to be able to give the accompanying woodcut. There follows a description of the castle, as it now remains, with several illustrations. The outer walls and towers, which are nearly perfect, present a good example of the exterior of a quadrangular castle of that period.

Mr. A. WAY has communicated notices of an enameled Chalice, and other relics, found on the site of Ruspur Priory in the spring of 1840, accompanied by a beautiful chromo-lithograph of the chalice, which is referable to the latter half of the XIIth century, and is a very remarkable example. On the bowl are demi figures of the Saviour and angels. There are no less than ten shades of colour in the enamel, which is applied in the mode technically termed *champlevé*. It is singular that so choice a work of art should have been found in a coffin on the site of a poor nunnery.

Our space will not allow us to do more than mention most of the other contents of this volume. Some curious insights into conventual life, in addition to those at Bayham, are given in a paper by Mr. Blaauw on the episcopal visitation of the Nunnery at Easebourne in the XVth century, and also in some Injunctions to the Prior and Convent of Boxgrave in 1518, contributed by the Rev. W. Turner. There are genealogical contributions as to the families of Miller of Burghill and Winkinghurst by Mr. Lower; of Kidder, who was Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Kidders of Maresfield, by the Rev. Edward Turner; and of Newton and Noyes, by Mr. T. Herbert Noyes. Extracts from the Manuscripts of Samuel Jeake, of Rye, communicated by Dr. Smart, with notes by Mr. W. Durant Cooper, throw some light on the state of religion there in the reign of James I., and the incidents of the civil war in the XVIIth century, and also introduce us to an election of an M. P. for Rye in 1661. We have a Subsidy roll of the rape of Lewes in 1621, from Mr. W. S. Ellis, and a List of Commissioners for the collection of subsidies in Sussex, at various periods, in the reigns of Henry VII., Henry VIII., Charles I. and Charles II., from Mr. T. Herbert Noyes, and an account of the Fees of Officers of the Crown in Sussex, in the reign of Elizabeth, from the Rev. Henry Wellesley, D. D. The sites of the wasted Free Chapels of Maresfield and Dudeney have found an investigator in the Rev. Edward Turner; and Extracts from the Journal of a Schoolmaster at Mayfield an Editor in Mr. Blencowe.

Among the Notes and Queries at the end of the volume is noticed the finding of a Ring of pure gold in the autumn of 1856, in the parish of Ringmer, near Lewes. Of this object, availing ourselves once more of the kindness of the Sussex Committee, we give the wood-cut. "It weighs," says Mr. Figg, "5 dwts. 6 grs., and is now in the possession of John Tattersal Auckland, Esq., F.S.A." Some rings of similar workmanship are engraved in Vol. VI. of this Journal, opposite p. 58; which will be seen to have come from widely remote localities. Among them is a specimen which was also found in Sussex, at Bormer, near Falmer. It is said to have been found on



Gold Ring found at Ringmer.

the bone of a finger, and was formerly in Dr. Mantell's collection. It is now preserved in the British Museum.

We cannot take leave of our Sussex friends without wishing them a continuance of that success which their zeal and perseverance have hitherto both merited and obtained.

Archaeological Intelligence.

It is proposed to publish (by subscription, 12s. per annum) under the direction of the Rev. W. Staunton, Mr. Bloxam, Mr. Greaves, Mr. Hoskyns, of Wroxhall Abbey, and other local antiquaries, a quarterly periodical devoted to the furtherance of the study of ANTIQUITIES in WARWICKSHIRE, a county rich in remains of every period. It will comprise notices of ecclesiastical, military, and domestic architecture, including a continuation of the series of "Warwickshire Churches," in which some valuable monographs have been produced under the auspices of the Warwickshire Archaeological Society. With these subjects will be combined family history, reprints of rare tracts or illustrations of local and personal history, matters in which the stores of the "Staunton Collections" are so rich, notices of antiquarian discoveries, &c. Those persons who desire to encourage this undertaking are requested to communicate with Messrs. Cooke, Warwick, the publishers, or with the editor, Mr. G. Robinson, Leamington.

Mr. SAMPSON, announces for immediate issue, collections illustrative of the history of the county of York, entitled "*BIBLIOTHECA TOPOGRAPHICA EBORACENSIS*;" to be issued in quarterly volumes, illustrated with maps, plates, and woodcuts. No copies of this series will be printed for general circulation, the publication being limited to subscribers. A detailed prospectus may be obtained from the publisher, 13, Coney-street, York.

Several memorials of the important collections of Art brought together in the MANCHESTER EXHIBITION are in preparation, and will speedily be issued to subscribers. The catalogue of the paintings has been undertaken by Mr. GEORGE SCHARF, jun., Secretary to the National Portrait Commission, 29, Great George-street, Westminster. The exemplification of the productions of the earlier schools of painting, which formed one of the most important features of the exhibition, was achieved through Mr. Scharf's indefatigable exertions, and his critical knowledge of the works of the ancient masters must render the volume which he proposes to publish indispensable to the student of Art. Mr. J. B. WARING has issued an important series of illustrations of the precious works of Decorative Art which were brought together under his direction; and Mr. W. CHAFFERS announces a Descriptive Catalogue, with illustrations, as a record of all the contributions of the Mediæval and Renaissance periods, as regards enamel, fictile manufactures, glass, goldsmith's work, sculptures in ivory, wood, &c., armour, and personal ornaments, including the Soulages collection, the Goodrich Court Armoury, and the remarkable antiquities from the Faussett collection, contributed by Mr. Mayer.

A selection of portraits of Mary Queen of Scots has been produced by Messrs. Colnaghi, Pall Mall East, by the aid of photography, from the collection exhibited by the Institute in June last. The skill of MM. Caldesi and Montecchi has been eminently successful in this difficult

undertaking. The series, dedicated to the PRINCE CONSORT, the Patron of the Institute, comprises fifteen subjects, with a frontispiece, representing the most choice and authentic relics of Mary Stuart,—her gold rosary, in possession of Mr. Howard, of Corby Castle, her silver bell, and other precious objects contributed by Mr. Bruce of Kennet. Amongst the portraits will be found the miniatures from the private collection of Her Majesty; the full length portraiture from Windsor Castle and Hampton Court; that formerly belonging to the late Mr. Frazer Tytler, by whom it was regarded as the painting presented by the Queen of Scots to Queen Elizabeth; the small full-length portrait from the Prince Consort's collection at Osborne House; the charming sketches in crayons by Janet, belonging to Dr. Wellesley; with other portraits of Mary Stuart, exhibited by the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Botfield, and Mr. Long.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the Institute will be held at Bath under the patronage of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort. President, The Lord Talbot de Malahide; President of the Historical Section, Sir John Boileau, Bart., V.P.S.A.; President of the Architectural Section, A. J. B. Hope, Esq., M.P.; President of the Section of Antiquities, Sir Walter C. Trevelyan, Bart., F.S.A. It is proposed to make excursions to Glastonbury and Malmesbury Abbeys, and to other interesting antiquities in the neighbourhood.

The Archaeological Journal.

JUNE, 1858.

THE VISITS OF KING HENRY III. TO THE NORTHERN COUNTIES OF ENGLAND.

AS SHOWN BY A MS. ITINERARY IN THE POSSESSION OF WILLIAM SALT, ESQ.
F.S.A., COMPILED FROM MATERIALS COMMUNICATED BY THOMAS DUFFUS
HARDY, ESQ., ONE OF THE KEEPERS OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.¹

THE movements of the Court have commonly been regarded as of some public importance; and the visits of sovereigns to places, at all remote from their usual residences, have rarely failed to interest the inhabitants among whom they came, whatever may have been the occasions. Accordingly our early chroniclers have generally informed us where the kings spent the great festivals of the Church, and what were the principal journeys which they took in the course of the year, and especially when the writer was an inmate of some religious house which was visited in the royal progress. These events are recorded for the most part among such matters of facts as the birth of a prince, or the death of a king, the appearance of a comet, the occurrence of an eclipse, the erection or consecration of a monastery, the calamities of a plague, a famine, or a storm. The writers were most of them monks, living in the cloister, far apart from the busy haunts of men, and their opportunities of becoming acquainted with the history of their own times must have been limited and rare. News travelled but slowly in those times, and, being generally conveyed orally by means of the wandering pilgrim, or by the brethren of some order journeying from one monastery to another, was apt to become perverted in its course.

Besides this, the obliteration of a numeral in the writings

¹ Communicated by Mr. Salt, at the Annual Meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, in 1856, in explanation of the
VOL. XV.

valuable MS. Itinerary in his library, which was then exhibited in the Museum.

of the chronicler, the transposition of a date by his copyist, or the erroneous transcription of a letter in a name, may lead the modern historian into baseless theories, or involve the facts in total confusion; and here it is that the isolated relics, which compose Royal Itineraries and are gathered laboriously by the hand of the archæologist, are so valuable and important in elucidating history.

The author of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," speaking of the restless activity of the Emperor Hadrian, whose reign was almost a perpetual journey, and who, careless of the difference of the seasons and climates, marched on foot and bare-headed over the snows of Caledonia, and the sultry plains of Upper Egypt, and left not a province of the Empire unhonoured by his presence, says that "if all our historians were lost, medals and inscriptions would be sufficient to record the travels of Hadrian;" and so if our ancient historians were lost, the records from which the Itinerary of King John compiled by Mr. T. D. Hardy, and printed in the preface to the volume of the Patent Rolls of his reign published by the Record Commissioners, the MS. Itinerary of Edward I. compiled by Mr. Stevenson, and preserved at Carlton Ride, and this Itinerary of Henry III. belonging to Mr. Salt, would show the movements of these sovereigns as fully as medals and inscriptions do the travels of the Emperor Hadrian.

A particular account of the sources from which such Itineraries have been compiled, as well as of the value of them in testing the authenticity of charters and the statements of chroniclers, is given in the introduction to Mr. Salt's volume; but it will suffice for the present purpose to refer our readers to the introduction to the above mentioned Itinerary of King John for such information, and to state here in general terms, that such tables are derived from various records and original documents, but chiefly from the attestations of Royal Grants and Mandates inrolled on the Charter, Patent, Close, and other rolls; and from accounts of the royal expenditure, known as the *Miscæ* and *Prestita* rolls, which generally chronicle the movements of the Court by naming the places at which the several disbursements took place.

Lest the reader should be disappointed when he sees the paucity of the references to authorities for the facts men-

tioned in the following observations, it is necessary to apprise him, that when no authorities are adduced for passages which are evidently not matters of general history, they have been derived from the Patent, Close, or Liberate rolls, being the records or documents chiefly used in the compilation of this Itinerary.

King Henry's first visit to the Northern counties occurred in the year 1220, when he was not quite fourteen years of age. It had relation to the marriage of one of his sisters with Alexander II. King of Scotland, who was desirous of allying himself with the Court of England. The Earl of Pembroke, to whose energy and prudence as Protector of the realm Henry had been greatly indebted for establishing him on the throne, had died the preceding year, and had been succeeded by Peter de Roches, Bishop of Winchester, as guardian of the King; and this prelate and his rival Hubert de Burgh, the Chief Justiciary, were young Henry's most influential counsellors at that time.

The negotiation would seem to have originated with the Scottish sovereign, for Henry, in granting him permission to come into this country, expressly states, in his letters of safe conduct, that Alexander desired to come on his own business, to speak with the King "*ad loquendum cum eo de negotiis suis.*" The licence to enter England extended from the 17th of May to Michaelmas-day.

It was evidently for the purpose of meeting and doing honor to Alexander that Henry went to York. He left Westminster almost immediately after his second coronation, which took place on the 17th May, and arrived at York on the 8th of June, having commanded the Earl of Warenne to be at the bridge at Berwick-upon Tweed, on the *quinzime* of Pentecost (2nd June), to meet the King of Scotland, and conduct him, with due ceremony and reverence, to the King at York, where he had arranged to meet him on Wednesday, the 10th of June, that they might covenant together for the common good of both realms. He also commanded Alan de Galloway and others to be at York on the same day.

The two sovereigns, according to Roger Wendover, met at York on the Feast of St. Barnabas (11th June), and negotiations were immediately commenced.

The princess Joanna, Henry's eldest sister, was chosen by Alexander for his intended bride. She had been betrothed

in 1214, when about eleven years of age, to Hugh de Lusignan, eldest son of the Earl of Marche, and had been sent into Provence to be educated till her marriage. Shortly after the death of King John, Hugh, having succeeded his father as Earl of Marche, married her mother, to whom he had been attached before her marriage with John; and he detained the Princess Joanna under some pretence, possibly for her mother's gratification. Henry had applied in vain for her restoration, and, as he might not be able to secure her return for a considerable time, he by his part of the treaty, which is dated on the 15th of June, 1220, undertook to give Alexander his next sister Isabella² in marriage, within fifteen days after Michaelmas, provided Joanna did not arrive. He also undertook to find suitable matches in England for Margaret and Isabella, sisters of the King of Scotland; and if he were not able to procure them husbands within one year after the Feast of St. Denis, in the year 1220, he was to return them safely to the King of Scotland, within the next month after the expiration of that term.³ The contract having been confirmed, each monarch returned home.⁴ King Henry left York on the 18th of June, and proceeded southward through Pontefract.

The King's next journey into the northern districts of England took place in March, 1221; his immediate object in travelling thither does not appear, though it probably was for the purpose of settling the disputes between the Bishop of Durham and the monks of that church; be that, however, as it may, Henry left the Tower of London on the 7th of March, travelling through Huntingdon, Newark, Blyth, Pontefract, Allerton, Easingwold, and Durham, to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, at which place he was on the 23rd of March; from thence he returned to Westminster, through Durham, Allerton, Ferriby, Pontefract, Blyth, Newark, Grantham, Stamford, Northampton, Woodstock, Abingdon, and Windsor, where he arrived on the 15th of April.

In the same year, 1221, the King visited York, to be present at the marriage of his elder sister Joanna with

² The King, on the 12th April, commanded Philip Marc to bring to York Isabella, the King's sister, for the evident purpose of introducing her to Alexander.

³ Rymer, i. p. 160.

⁴ On the Close roll of this year 4 Hen. 3

is recorded a mandate to the Barons of the Exchequer to allow P. de Ulecot fifteen pounds, which he expended for the King of Scotland during the three days he was going through his bailiwick of Northumberland to the King at York.

Alexander, King of Scotland, the negotiation for which has been already mentioned; on which occasion he left Oxford on the 9th of June, and proceeded northward through Northampton, Nottingham, and Blyth, arriving at York on the 17th of June.

Having, on the 12th of May, given the Scottish sovereign permission to come into England, for the purpose of contracting matrimony with Joanna his sister, who had safely returned from abroad,⁵ he despatched the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Warenne, Robert de Vipont, and Geoffrey de Neville to Berwick-upon-Tweed, to conduct them to York; and he directed the Sheriff of Northumberland, and the barons of that county, who had been especially summoned for the purpose,⁶ together with the Seneschal of the Bishop of Durham, and the King's Chancellor, to be there also on the same occasion. He likewise commanded the Sheriff of York and the barons of that county to go to the River Tees to meet the Scottish King and conduct him to York.

Matthew Paris asserts that the marriage was solemnised on the morrow of St. John the Baptist (25th June), but he is clearly in error as to the day, for it undoubtedly took place either on the 16th, 17th, 18th, or 19th of June, as is proved by the order to pay the expenses incurred at the marriage feasts on Wednesday, after the octaves of the Holy Trinity (16th June,) and the three following days, when Alexander King of Scotland was there with the King, to take to wife Joanna his sister.⁷ It is more than probable

⁵ The King on the 21st May, repaid Gerard Brochard fifty-nine marks and Emeric de Martini, two marks and a half which he lent to Joanna, the King's sister, to pay her expenses in Poitou. He also ordered Esnald de Chasteyn to be paid forty-five marks for the freight of a ship in bringing her to England, and the next day he paid John Russel 100*s.* for her expenses at the New Temple; and he repaid John Russel and Godefrey de Cravecumbe ten marks for the expenses of Joanna, his sister, at London and Wallingford, and ten marks for one palfrey, and two sumpters bought for her use, and ten shillings for one sumpter saddle bought also for her. He presented her also with robes for the Whitsun festivities. On the 25th May, he informs the sheriff of Berkshire, that he has sent the Princess Joanna, his sister,

to Wallingford with her suite and sixteen horses, together with John Russel, Ralph Gurnun, and Godfrey Craucumb, and the sheriff is commanded to find her and all her suite in necessaries as long as they remain.

⁶ John Blundus was paid two shillings for going to the barons of Northumberland with the King's letters commanding them to conduct the King of Scotland to York, and Adam Ruter was paid *1*s.* 3*d.** for going to the barons of York on the same business.

⁷ The barons of the Exchequer were commanded to account with the mayor and bailiff of York in £50 for debts of their town; and £13 *15*s.* 2*d.** of the farm of their town:—"quas posuerunt per præceptum nostrum in expensis nostris acquietandis factis apud Eborum die Mercurii proxima post Octabas

that the ceremony was performed on the 18th of June, as Alexander granted to her on that day, in dower, the lands of Jeddeworth, Hastenesden, Lessewin, and Kingor in Scotland, and the church of Carel.⁸

The English monarch arrived at York on Wednesday the 16th of June (though there is no attestation recorded on that day), and left that city on the 20th of the same month. He was at Pontefract on the 21st, at Doncaster on the 22nd, and at Nottingham on the 25th, *en route* to Shrewsbury; the very day on which Matthew Paris states that the marriage took place.

The King's next visit to the northern counties was in November, 1227. He arrived at Doncaster on the 29th of that month, on his way to York, where he intended to keep his Christmas holidays; he visited Tickhill, Thorpe, Knaresborough, Ripon, Allerton, Durham, Middleham, Darlington, Thirsk, Craike, Driffild, and Beverley; he arrived at York on the 24th, and left it on the 29th of December, returning homewards through Tadcaster, Pontefract, and Doncaster.

The King having invited Alexander King of Scotland to spend the Christmas festivities with him at York, in 1229, left Westminster on the 10th of November, and after visiting several places in the counties of Oxford, Northampton, and Nottingham, arrived at Doncaster on the 21st of December, and went through Pontefract to York, where we find him by the Itinerary on the 25th, 26th, and 28th of that month.

Roger Wendover states that the Archbishop of York, and a large retinue of earls, barons, and knights were present, and the two Kings distributed many splendid dresses amongst their knights, and that the King of England was profuse in his liberality towards the Scottish King,⁹ presenting him with valuable horses, rings, and jewels, and for three days

Sanctæ Trinitatis anno regni nostri quinto de tribus diebus sequentibus, quando Rex Alexander Scottorum ibidem nobiscum fuit, pro ducenda in uxorem Johanna sorore nostra" (Rot. Claus. 5 Hen. 2. m. 7): The same barons were ordered to pay the sheriff of Northumberland £15 which he delivered to Alexander, King of Scotland, to pay his expenses in going through the county of Northumberland to the King at York to marry Joanna, the King's sister.

⁸ Rymer i. p. 165.

⁹ The sheriff of York was commanded to pay to Alexander, King of Scotland, £80 for his expenses for sixteen days: viz. the eight days he spent on coming to the King at York on Christmas day, and the eight days he occupied in returning to his own country, at a rate of 100s. the day. The sheriff is also to pay to the said King Alexander, the sum of £8 for the four days he remained with the King at York, being at the rate of 30s. the day.

they continued the festival, banqueting every day splendidly, and observing the great anniversary with joy and exultation.

On the fourth day the party broke up; the King of Scots went home, and King Henry returned to London.

In the year 1236 Henry revisited York for the purpose of taking the advice of his nobles, and making arrangements for settling a dispute which had arisen with Alexander. Their discord, says Matthew Paris, arose out of the claim of the King of Scotland to the county of Northumberland, which he stated had been given to him by King Henry as the dowry of his sister Joanna, in proof of which assertion he had charters and the testimony of many bishops and clergy of rank, as well as earls and barons, and he declared that it was execrable to gainsay what had proceeded from the lips of kings, and to annul a treaty made between persons of such exalted rank; and he added, that unless the King of England peaceably restored to him what was his by right and reason, he would enforce his claim by the edge of the sword. For the purpose of restoring peace and goodwill between them as well as for the protection of the kingdom, which was beset on all sides with enemies, King Henry offered Alexander a revenue of eighty marks from some other place in England, in order that the boundaries of the kingdom might not be broken in upon in the northern parts. The conference ended to the satisfaction of both parties, and all for the present remained in peace.

Matthew Paris does not mention where or when this meeting took place,¹ but the Itinerary proves that it was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in September 1236.

The King's route lay through Nottingham, Thorpe, Peveril, Doncaster, Pontefract, and Cawood² to York, at which city he arrived on the 5th of September; the next day he left York and proceeded to Craike, Allerton,³ Darlington, Durham, and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which he reached on the 12th and

¹ The King of Scotland had letters of safe conduct to come to the King of England at Newcastle-upon-Tyne between the 4th of June and Michaelmas day, but the term was subsequently prolonged until the *quinzime* of Michaelmas.

² When he was at Cawood, the 4th of September, the king wrote to the mayor and bailiff of York, to have twenty-five casks of his wine which were in the cellars of the Archbishop of York at York,

taken therefrom and valued and delivered to the tavern keepers of the town of York, who would account to the King for the same on his return to York from Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

³ When he was at Allerton on the 20th September, he granted to Joanna, Queen of Scotland, for her homage and service, the manor of Driffild to hold for her life, rendering therefore one sparrow-hawk for all services.

left on the 16th of September; he then returned to York (stopping at Darlington on his way,) and was at that northern metropolis from the 20th to the 23rd, when he went to Sherburn, Pontefract, and Doncaster, proceeding homewards through Worksop, Laxton, and Eccles. Matthew Paris states that the King convoked his nobles to York on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14th Sept. 1237), to treat concerning the arduous affairs of the realm, and to meet the King of Scotland, whom he had invited there to arrange terms of peace. On their arrival in that city, it was decided that the King of Scotland should receive three hundred librates of land in the kingdom of England, on condition that he did not erect any castle thereon, and did homage to the King of England for the same.

The Itinerary confirms the statement of this historian, except in a slight discrepancy as to date,⁴ for the King did not leave Nottingham until the 18th of September, nor reach York until the 22nd; he remained in that city until the 28th of the same month,⁵ and returned homewards through Sherburn, Doncaster, and Worksop.

Shortly after this Alexander lost his Queen, Joanna. She had suffered from a long, and, according to Boece,⁶ a painful disease. Having come to England, and vainly sought relief at the shrine of Becket, she died at Eltham, near London, attended by both her brothers. The next year he married Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, the representative of an ancient family in Picardy. Her influence, unlike Joanna's, was unfavourable to England; still Alexander seems to have been disposed to remain at peace with Henry. However, a misunderstanding between them occasioned the latter to visit the northern counties in 1244. He charged Alexander with receiving English fugitives, and, according to Matthew Paris, he issued a general summons to his military tenants to meet him at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, about the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15th August), 1244, assigning, as his chief motive for that step, that some noble and powerful barons of Scotland had fortified two castles in Galloway and Lothian to the prejudice of the King

⁴ The King of Scotland had letters of safe conduct, dated 15th August, to come to the King at York.

⁵ On the 28th September he states in

a letter, that firm peace is established between himself and the King of Scotland.

⁶ See Dalrymple's *Annals*, 169 n.

of England, and contrary to the charter of his predecessors ; and, moreover, that having received some exiles and fugitive enemies, they were endeavouring to withdraw their allegiance from the King of England ; but the Scottish monarch being a good, just, pious, and enlightened man (as deservedly loved by the English as by his own subjects), was very desirous of preventing Christian bloodshed, and therefore entered into a careful inquiry into the nature of King Henry's grievance, and agreed to terms satisfactory to all parties concerned.

The public records are confirmatory of Matthew Paris's narrative ; for it appears by the Patent rolls, that on the 15th of July the King dispatched the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Carlisle, Simon de Montford Earl of Leicester, the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and William de Cantelupe, as ambassadors to the King of Scotland to know what amends he intended to make to the King of England for the injuries he had sustained ; and he sent by them letters of safe conduct to Alexander to come to Newcastle-upon-Tyne and be present at the meeting of the Parliament the King had there convened, which were to be in force for three days after the Parliament should break up (*postquam Parliamentum illud ruptum fuerit*) ; he further undertook to abide by and confirm whatever his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, should arrange at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in the treaty between the King of England and the King of Scotland.

The Itinerary shows that King Henry travelled to Newcastle-upon-Tyne from Nottingham, through Clipstone, Hodstock, Sherburn, Doncaster, Cawood, Pontefract, York, Allerton, and Craike, arriving at Newcastle on the 1st of August, and continued there until the 14th of August. He stopped on his journey homewards at Durham, Darlington, Allerton, Ripon, Sherburn, Fountains, Knaresborough, Doncaster, and Hodstock.

In July, 1249, Alexander died of a fever while on an expedition against Angus of Argyle, leaving by his Queen, Mary de Coucy, a son, in his eighth year, who succeeded him as Alexander III. In his father's lifetime he had been betrothed to Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry, King of England ; and it was arranged that the nuptials should be solemnised at York on Christmas Day, 1251, the princess

being about a year older than the King of Scots,⁷ and Henry determined that the nuptials should be celebrated with great pomp: he therefore called together a numerous assembly of clergy and knights in order that the splendour of this great ceremony should shine far and wide.⁸

The court of England left Windsor with the bride on the 28th of October, taking the route through Reading, Wallingford, Oxford, Woodstock, Winchcombe, Gloucester, Evesham, Worcester, Hales, Lichfield, Burton, Tutbury, Derby, Nottingham, Newstead, Sherwood, Warsop, Hodstock, Conisbrough, Pontefract, and Thorpe. The royal party reached York on the 22nd of December, and took up their abode with the archbishop.

Every preparation was made to receive the young bridegroom with distinction, and amusement was provided for his diversion on his entering the English territory. Orders were given to the warden of Galtres Forest to allow the youthful sovereign to hunt the deer in that royal domain, and to carry away all the game he might kill.

In addition to a numerous retinue composed of the flower of the Scotch nobility, the young King was accompanied by his mother, Mary de Coucy, who had been summoned from the continent for the occasion, and in whose train were many nobles not only of Scotland but also of France, where she was born.

A donor is generally supposed to display considerable tact and discrimination when he bestows a gift suitable to, and likely to be prized by, the donee; and King Henry had, perhaps, some secret inkling of the taste of the imperious daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, when he ordered his butler to place the whole of the wines in the royal cellars at Nottingham at her disposal, and to make a suitable speech to her on the occasion.⁹

Matthew Paris recounts with much minuteness the magnificence of these nuptials; and to him we refer for many particulars which our limited space constrains us to omit.

⁷ She was born at Windsor, 5th October 1240 (Liberat. 25 Hen. 3, m. 22), and he was born 14th September, 1241 (Chron. Mailros. p. 154).

⁸ Ut tam magnarum nuptiarum serenitas latius et latius coruscaret."

⁹ "Mandatum est custodibus vinorum

regis apud Nottingham quod vina regis quæ sunt in custodia sua exponant voluntati Reginæ Scottorum, offerentes ei, ex parte regis, ut de vinis illis ad usus suos recipiat sicut Willielmus de Hastingcot plenius ei dicit ex parte regis."

Previous to the celebration of the marriage, King Henry conferred knighthood on his intended son-in-law. The ceremony was performed with much magnificence on Christmas Day, and twenty young nobles, arrayed in rich and costly apparel, received a similar honour. On this occasion King Henry presented the young monarch with a finesword, having a silver pommel richly chased, a scabbard of silk, together with a costly sword-belt ; an elaborately formed couch (minutely described in the royal mandate ordering it to be prepared) was also delivered to him for the purpose of rest while he was performing in the Abbey Church the usual solitary watchings on the night previous to the belting of a knight.

The day after Christmas Day was appointed for the nuptials ; and it was deemed advisable that the ceremony should be performed in private, early in the morning, long before the expected hour, for the purpose of avoiding the rush and pressure of so large a multitude.

Immediately after the nuptial ceremony had taken place, the King of Scotland did homage to the King of England for the land of Lothian and the other possessions held of him in England, and was then asked to do fealty for the Kingdom of Scotland as his predecessors had done ; but the prudent boy replied to this unseasonable and unbecoming application, that he had come there peacefully for the honour of the King of England, and at his request to ally himself by marriage to him, and not to intermeddle with affairs of state ; moreover, that this was too arduous a matter for him to act in without consulting his nobles, and he must therefore decline replying to so difficult a question.

The public muniments abound in notices of the preparations made for the marriage feast ; for instance, the King ordered for the same, five last of herrings, one thousand mullets, ten thousand haddocks, two hundred and fifty salmon, five hundred conger eels, thirty pikes, and sixty jacks ; and the King's " piscator " was directed to catch all the fish he could in the royal fish-ponds, and to keep them alive in some safe stew until they were required : he also ordered thirteen hundred and twenty porkers, and two thousand four hundred and sixteen fowls, four hundred bucks, three hundred does, two hundred fawns, and one hundred wild boars. An incredible quantity of wine was also ordered to be sent to York,

and Robert of Montpelier, his butler, was ordered to spice two casks of the best white wine in the King's cellar, and convert one class of the best red wine into *claré*,¹ and he was also to have any quantity and quality of wine he might require to make therewith delicate drinks for the King.

On the occasion of these festivities the King made many valuable presents to the bride and bridegroom and also to other persons. In addition to a very ample trousseau which he had provided for his daughter, he gave her other jewels to the value of two hundred marks; a silver pot, weighing ten marks; a silver posnet and cup, weighing five marks; a plain silver cup, weighing five marks; a golden chalice, weighing three marks; six spoons; and several other pieces of plate; four beautiful saddles of costly materials, with reins to correspond; a richly ornamented bed; ten cloths of gold and several magnificent robes for herself, her governess, and maids of honour; and two hundred marks in money. He distributed among the Scotch nobility a large quantity of cloth of gold and silken robes, and gave in alms to the poor and indigent, a large supply of cloth, and other articles of apparel; he gave to twenty-four religious houses in Yorkshire valuable silver chalices, and presents in money to all the prioresses of the same county.

At the conclusion of these festivities the King presented to his young son-in-law one hundred and nine pounds for his expenses in England; and granted to him five thousand marks for four years, and all the lands and tenements in Cumberland, which his father Alexander II. had held, and which, at his death, had reverted to the crown of England.

Shortly after the bride and bridegroom took their departure for Scotland, a trustworthy guard having been appointed to attend on the young Queen. They travelled by the way of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the governor was commanded to place the King's castle at their disposal, and to provide them with wine, meat, fish, and other necessities as long as they desired to remain there.

Whilst King Henry was at York he visited several of the neighbouring monasteries and towns, and conferred upon them many acts of kindness and benevolence. He left the

¹ Wine spiced and sweetened with honey, and then cleared. See Tyrwhitt's Glossary to Chaucer.

city of York on the 7th of January, 1252, and arrived at Nottingham on the 10th of that month.

The next visit of the English court to the Northern counties was in the year 1255, and had relation to the domestic disturbances in Scotland during the minority of Alexander III. It seems that dissensions had arisen between the English attendants of the young Queen and the servants who were placed about her by the regents of Scotland, which rendered her situation anything but agreeable ; in addition to which she was kept in a state of imprisonment in Edinburgh Castle, and was denied all intercourse with her husband. This state of things naturally drew from her many grievous complaints to her parents, and applications for redress.

More than one effort was made by King Henry to bring the young Queen back to England, and a safe conduct was actually granted to her for the purpose, but the regents could not be induced to let her go, well knowing the dissatisfaction she felt at all around her : a secret mission was then sent into Scotland, and the information it brought created serious apprehensions for her health in her mother, Queen Eleanor, who immediately sent over her own confidential physician, Reginald de Bathonia, to attend to her health and that of her young husband, whom she loved as an adopted child. On his arrival at Edinburgh, he was courteously received by the regents, as he brought letters of credence from the King and Queen of England, and when he was left alone with the young Queen (as with physicians it was then customary) he inquired of her the cause of her perturbation and sadness ; upon her revealing to him the cause of her grief, and particularly the treatment she experienced from the regents, the indignation of the physician was aroused, and he charged them and her attendants with treason. In the course of a few days he was suddenly taken dangerously ill, and, attributing his attack to poison, he wrote to the King and Queen of England a full account of what he had seen, done, and suffered in the cause of the young Queen, and immediately afterwards expired.

The King, highly enraged at this intelligence, entertained thoughts of dissolving the marriage forthwith, and sent privately into Scotland the Earl of Gloucester and John Mansell to ascertain the actual situation of his daughter, and

the best means of assisting her. Entering the castle of Edinburgh in disguise, they obtained an interview with Queen Margaret, who related all her grievances,² concealing nothing from them. So great was her irritation against the Scots, that she entreated her father to invade Scotland, and punish her persecutors, rather than leave her unavenged. By the authority of Henry they formed a powerful party in Scotland, and with their assistance released the King and Queen, and conducted them in safety to Roxburgh Castle.

To follow up this step, Henry summoned his military tenants to join him, vowing vengeance against those who had persecuted his daughter, though in the proclamation he issued on the occasion, he spoke merely of his great desire to visit the King of Scotland and his daughter the Queen, whom he had not seen for a long time, and to lull the jealous suspicion of the Scots, he declared that it was not his intention to attempt anything contrary to the rights and liberties of their kingdom.

Everything being prepared, the King, on the 26th of June, left Woodstock, where he had been staying for some weeks, and marching through Northamptonshire and Nottinghamshire, arrived at Doncaster on the 8th of August; thence proceeding through Pontefract, Cawood, York, Newborough, Allerton, Darlington, Durham, Newcastle, Alnwick, and Chillingham, he arrived at Wark on the 6th of September. While at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (26th August), he sent letters of safe conduct to the young King and Queen and the Earl of Gloucester and another nobleman were commissioned to escort them to the King of England.

As it was considered more prudent that Henry should not for the present cross the frontier, Wark Castle was decided upon as the place of rendezvous, and there King Henry and his Queen, who had insisted upon accompanying him, took up their residence; finding, however, some demur on the part of the Scots as to the propriety of their King and Queen venturing beyond the border, Guy de Lusignan

² "Scotorum Regina conquesta graviter, quod indecenter custodiebatur, vel potius incarcerationem in castro illo (Edinburgh) loco tristi et solitario, salubri aëre et virore, juxta mare, penitus destituito. Nec licuit ei, ut dicebat, per Regnum suum spatium, vel familiam habere spe-

cialem, vel etiam puellas, quas habere cupiebat, camerales et cubiculares: nec permissus est Rex maritus suus accessum ad eam habere maritalem, vel mutuis amplexibus congaudere." (Matt. Paris, ad ann. 1255.)

and William de Valence, the King's half-brothers, with the Earl of Gloucester and other nobles, were sent to urge their presence, and they pledged themselves that neither the young King nor his Queen should tarry in England without the consent of the Scottish nobles. This promise was renewed in other letters of safe conduct which were issued on the 5th of September, and the meeting accordingly took place at Wark. Wyntoun says :

Thydder the Kyng of Scotland
 And the Quene, with hym passand,
 As on tryst and purpos set,
 On a day togydder met,
 Wyth mony folk on ilke syde.
 Of Ingland the Quene was there that tyde,
 There the Kyngis made bydyng
 By counsaile thare and long spekyng;
 There was made sich ordynans,
 That was grete grefe and displeasans
 To of Scotland the thre statis,
 Burgers, Barowns, and Prelatis.

The ordinances, which gave such grief and displeasure to the three estates of Scotland, were that Queen Margaret should be treated with proper attention and respect, and that she should have free intercourse with her husband; that the government during the King's minority should be placed in the hands of those who were in the English interest, and that King Henry should be the principal counsellor to the King of Scotland. These articles were drawn up at Wark on the 16th of September, but were not completed until the 20th of that month, when it is said that they were signed by King Alexander, at Roxburgh Castle, in the presence of the King of England, and that afterwards the two monarchs visited Kelso Abbey together where they attended high mass, after which King Henry returned to Wark.

There is no evidence, however, by the attestations to show that the King was either at Roxburgh or Kelso on the 20th of September.

He was at Wark on the 16th and on the 18th (it does not appear where he was on the 17th); on the 20th he was at Sprouston and Wark, and at Wark on the 21st. If, therefore, King Henry went into Scotland, it must have been on the 17th of September, as that is the only day his

presence cannot be traced in England.* After the treaty was confirmed by King Henry he made preparations to return home; he left Wark on the 21st of September, and passing through Alnwick, Newminster, Durham, Darlington, York and Pontefract, arrived in London the 13th of October.

The King's last journey in his Northern provinces occurred in September, 1268, when he had convened his parliament to meet him there. He arrived at York on the 10th of that month and stayed there until the 26th. The chief object of his visit was to see the King and Queen of Scotland and their family, whom he had invited to meet him there. Nothing particular appears to have occurred on the occasion, and the King left York the 26th, taking the route through Pontefract, and arrived at Westminster on the 12th of October.

The foregoing remarks suggested by the Itinerary of King Henry III., may serve to show how such tables assist in elucidating the statements of contemporary annalists, and enable us to educe from the mouldering fragments of history little traits of individual character and national manners and customs, which are looked for in vain in the pages of the general historian.

* The chronicle of Mailros gives the 15th August as the date of King Henry's visit into Scotland, but that is clearly an error, as may be seen by the Itinerary. It is, however, more than probable that King Henry did not cross the frontier, or it would have been so stated in King Alexander's charter dated 20th August at Roxburgh; whereas it expressly states that Henry had come into the Marches of the kingdoms of England and Scotland "Noverit universitas vestra quod, cum Karissimus pater noster et dominus

Henricus, Rex Angliæ illustris, pro honore et utilitate nostrâ et regni nostri, ad marchiam regnorum Angliæ et Scotiæ sui gratiâ personaliter accessit." Furthermore, if King Henry had been at Roxburgh on that day, he would have confirmed the same charter then and there; whereas it is brought to him at Sprouston on the very day it was granted by Alexander, and he there gave it his confirmation. "*Teste meipso apud Sprouston vicesimo die Septembris.*"

**EXTRACTS FROM THE ITINERARY, SO FAR AS RELATES TO
THE NORTHERN COUNTIES.**

A. D. 1220. ANN. REG. 4.

June 8. York.
 9.
 10. York.
 11. York.
 12. York.
 13. York.
 14. York.
 15. York.
 16. York.
 17. York.
 18. York and Pontefract.
 19. Pontefract.
 20. Nottingham.

A. D. 1221. ANN. REG. 5.

March 12. Newark and Blyth.
 13. Blyth and Pontefract.
 16. Allerton and Easing-
 wold.
 17. Allerton.
 19. Durham.
 21. Bamborough and
 Alnwick.
 23. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 25. Durham.
 28. Allerton.
 30. Ferriby.
 31. Pontefract.
April 1. Blyth.
 2. Newark and Grant-
 ham.

A. D. 1221. ANN. REG. 5.

June 15. Blyth.
 17. York.
 18. York.
 19. York.
 20. York.
 21. Pontefract.

June 22. Doncaster.
 23. Nottingham.

A. D. 1227. ANN. REG. 12.

November 28. Blyth.
 29. Doncaster and Tick-
 hill.
December 1. Thorpe.
 2. Knaresborough.
 3. Ripon.
 5. Allerton.
 9. Durham.
 10. Durham.
 11. Middleham.
 12. Darlington.
 13. Darlington.
 14. Thirsk and Craike.
 15. Craike.
 16. Driffeld.
 18. Beverley.
 20. Beverley.
 24. York.
 25. York.
 27. York.
 28. York.
 29. York and Tadcaster.
 30. Pontefract.

A. D. 1228. ANN. REG. 12.

January 2. Doncaster.
 3. Blyth.

A. D. 1229. ANN. REG. 14.

December 20. Grimstone.
 21. Doncaster and Pon-
 tefract.
 22. Pontefract.
 25. York.
 26. York.
 28. York.
 29. Sherburn.

A. D. 1230. ANN. REG. 14.

- January 1. Doncaster.
2. Doncaster and Blyth.

A. D. 1236. ANN. REG. 20.

- September 1. Nottingham.
2. Thorpe Peveril.
3. Doncaster and Pontefract.
4. Pontefract and Cawood.
5. York.
6. York and Craike.
8. Allerton.
9. Allerton.
10. Darlington.
11. Durham.
12. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
15. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
16. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
18. Darlington.
19. Durham, Allerton.
20. York.
21. York.
23. York.
24. Sherburn.
25. Pontefract and Doncaster.
26. Pontefract.
27. Doncaster.
28. Worksop, Laxton, and Eccles.
29. Eccles.
30. Eccles.

A. D. 1237. ANN. REG. 21.

- September 18. Nottingham.
21. Pontefract.
22. York.
24. York.
25. York.
26. York.
27. York.
28. York.

September 29. Sherburn.

30. Sherburn.

- October 1. Doncaster.
2. Doncaster.
3. Worksop.
4. Nottingham.

A. D. 1244. ANN. REG. 28.

- July 21. Nottingham, Clipstone, and Hodstock.*
22. Hodstock and Sherburn.
23. Hodstock and Doncaster.
24. Doncaster, Cawood, and Pontefract.
25. Pontefract.
28. York.
29. Allerton and Craike.
August 1 to 13. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
14. Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Durham.
15. Durham and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
16. Durham.
17. Darlington.
18. Allerton and Ripon.
19. Ripon and Sherburn.
20. Fountains.
21. Knaresborough.
22. Sherburn.
23. Sherburn and Doncaster.
24. Doncaster and Hodstock.
27. Nottingham.

A. D. 1251. ANN. REG. 36.

- December 15. Warsop.
16. Hodstock.
17. Hodstock and Conisbrough.
18. Hodstock and Pontefract.
19. Pontefract.
20. Sherburn and Thorpe.

* Hodsock, near Blyth, Nottinghamshire.

December 22. Thorpe and York.
 25. York.
 26. York.
 27. York.
 28. York.
 29. York.
 30. York.
 31. York.

A. D. 1252. ANN. REG. 36.

January 1. York and Thorpe.
 2. Thorpe.
 3. Thorpe.
 4. Thorpe and York.
 5. York and Thorpe.
 6. Sherburn and York.
 7. York, Pontefract,
 and Sherburn.
 8. Sherburn and Ponte-
 fract.
 9. Pontefract.
 10. Doncaster and Not-
 tingham.
 11. Hodstock.
 12. Clipstone and Not-
 tingham.

A. D. 1255. ANN. REG. 39.

August 4. Warsop.
 5. Scrooby.
 6. Scrooby.
 7. Scrooby.
 8. Doncaster.
 9. Pontefract.
 10. Cawood.
 11. Cawood and York.
 12. York.
 13. York.
 14. York.
 15. York.
 16. York.
 17. York.
 18. York and New-
 borough.
 19. Allerton.
 20. Darlington.
 21. Durham.
 22. Durham.
 23. Durham.

August 24. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 25. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 26. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 27. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 28. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 29. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 30. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 September 1. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne and Wark.
 2. Alnwick.
 3. Alnwick.
 4. Chillingham.
 5. Chillingham.
 6. Wark.
 7. Wark.
 8. Wark.
 9. Wark.
 10. Carham.
 11. Carham and Wark.
 12. Wark.
 13. Wark.
 14. Wark.
 16. Wark and Carham.
 18. Wark.
 20. Sprouston and Wark.
 21. Wark.
 22. Alnwick.
 23. Alnwick.
 24. Newminster (apud
 Novum Monaste-
 rium).^{*}
 25. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 26. Newcastle-upon-
 Tyne.
 27. Durham.
 28. Darlington.
 29. York.
 30. York and Ponte-
 fract.
 October 1. Pontefract.
 2. Scrooby.
 3. Laneham & Lincoln.

^{*} This was a Cistercian abbey near Morpeth.

A. D. 1268. ANN. REG. 52.

September 4. Rock.
10. York.
11. York.
12. York.
13. York.
14. York.
15. York.
16. York.
17. York.

September 18. York.

19. York.

20. York.

21. York.

22. York.

23. York.

24. York.

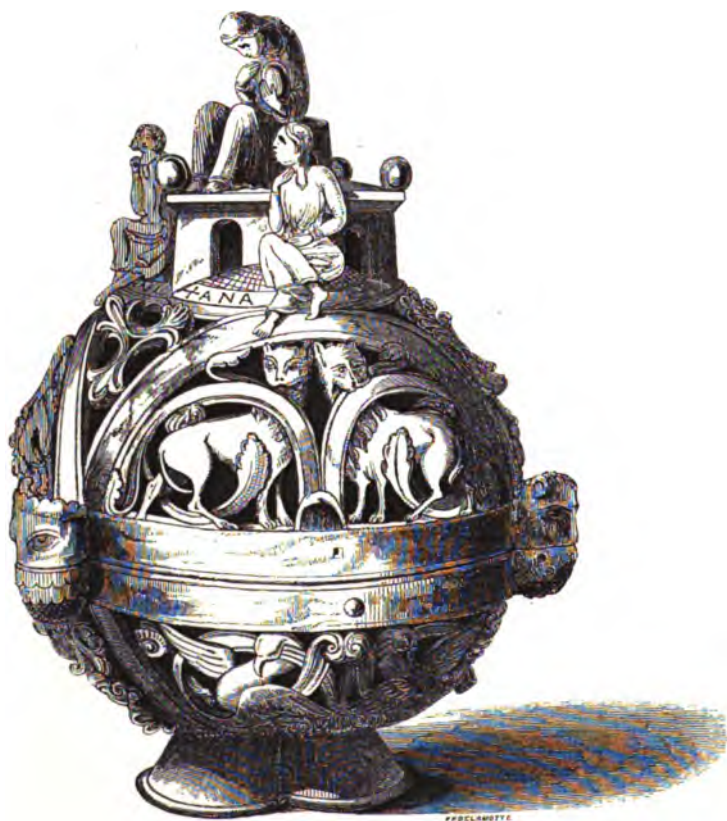
25. York.

26. York.

27. Pontefract.

October

1. Nottingham.



Thurible of the Twelfth century.
In the possession of the Very Rev. Daniel Rock, D.D.

NOTICE OF A THURIBLE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

BY THE VERY REV. DANIEL ROCK, D.D.

THE thurible which is represented in the accompanying illustration is of copper gilt, and when it came into my hands had unfortunately lost all its chains and much of its original gilding. Wanting it for use at the altar, I had new chains put to it, and had it regilt by the electrotpe process—a method which hindered the slightest abrasion, or the smallest hurt from being inflicted on it: the regilding, in fact, was absolutely needful to keep it safe from those injuries so sure to follow from the effects of damp and oxidation.

As may be seen at a glance, it is a work of the twelfth century. At Lille there is another so very like the one engraved that, at first sight, both would seem to have been cast in the same mould: there cannot be the slightest doubt that they were wrought by the same hand. A short inspection however will show that they differ one from the other so much as to be easily distinguished; which is the earlier of the two it would be hard to decide. The other thurible belongs to M. Benvignat of Lille, who found it among some broken iron in an old-store shop of that town, and bought it for a few francs. M. Didron, in his *Annales Archéologiques*, tom. iv. p. 293, published an engraving of it, of the full size, from a well-executed drawing by the pencil of M. Viollet-Leduc.

The names, inscribed upon both thuribles, show at once that the youths seated upon the lid, with their heads towards an angel sitting above them on the top, represent the three children, Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenago, otherwise called, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, spoken of by Daniel, cap. iii. These Hebrew martyrs are thus figured singing their beautiful song of praise scathless amidst the flames of the Babylonian furnace, gazing upon the angel whom God had sent them for protection in their burning trial. All around

and beneath them are the flowers of the field, the beasts of the earth, and the fowls of the air. The symbolism of this ornamentation is most fitting for such an ecclesiastical appliance as a censer, in which incense was to be burned—the emblem of prayer and worship. The three children typify the faithful people of God uplifting to Him their notes of adoration and praise, in joy and grief—at all times. By the angel bearing in his left hand an object resembling the flat dishes for holding incense—like that belonging to St. Paul's, London, in the thirteenth century (see *Dugdale's St. Paul's*, p. 312), we are reminded of the angel in the Apocalypse (chap. viii., verse 3) to whom “was given much incense that he should offer of the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which is before the throne of God.” Highest and uppermost sits the angel; below him are seated the youthful Hebrews; and under them are birds, beasts, and flower-bearing branches and boughs: thus are we at once reminded of the “Benedicite” which our Church sings every day in her service at Lauds, and in which she says:—“All ye works of the Lord, bless the Lord—O ye angels of the Lord—O all ye things that spring up in the earth—O all ye fowls of the air—O all ye beasts and cattle—O ye sons of men—O Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, bless ye the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever,” &c. By comparing the copper-plate given by M. Didron, in the *Annales*, with the wood-cut, we shall find that there are several differences in design between M. Benvignat's thurible and mine: the foot of this is a trefoil, that in France has it fashioned like a rose of six petals, or as M. Didron calls it “une rose à six lobes, comme les roses qui couronnent les fenêtres de la cathédrale de Reims:” the doves, the lions, and other animals, though evidently cast in the same mould, are placed differently on each thurible: the spaces between the semicircular bands in this, are filled in with a three-petaled floweret; in that, with a sprig of five leaves: the names, Ananias, &c., are written at the feet of, and between the three children, on this—on that, upon the broad bands spanning the animals: in that, the angel at top is seated upon a cushion which, in this, is not to be seen; though, in both, the wings, originally fixed upon the angel's shoulders, are broken off. Besides these, there are some other variations not worthy of mention; but they, with those mentioned show that, while the

maker of such thuribles could employ very many of the same moulds upon the vessels that he sent forth from his hands, he knew well how to diversify them and put in a few small differences of a leaf or flower, so as to render one easily distinguishable from all his other censers. But we must not forget to notice that around the horizontal rims of the bowl and lid of the Lille thurible, runs an interesting Latin inscription of three hexameters telling how a certain Reinerus gave it to some religious house, or capitular body, that, after death, he might be prayed for. This, as well as two other twelfth century thuribles, of which one is still to be seen in the cathedral of Trèves, has been figured by Texier, in his very useful *Dictionnaire d'Orfèvrerie, de Gravure et de Ciselure Chrétiennes*, just published, at Paris, by Migne. The learned Abbé gives the decided preference to that at Lille, and says : "C'est encore à l'époque de Theophile que se rapporte l'encensoir beaucoup plus remarquable, conservé à Lille par M. Benvignat." But long before M. L'abbé Texier, the same preference had been enthusiastically expressed by one to whom mediæval archæology is so much beholden—I mean M. Didron, who tells us :— "L'encensoir que nous avons vu à Trèves, ceux que sont sculptés ou peints dans nos monuments, ceux que nous avons observés dans plusieurs églises de France ou dans quelques collections d'antiquaires, ne pouvaient pas nous donner une idée de l'encensoir de Lille Lorsque nous avons vu de nos yeux et touché de nos mains cet idéal exécuté dans l'encensoir de Lille, notre amour pour le moyen âge a véritablement redoublé."—*Annales Archeol.*, tom. iv. p. 305.

Among the several liturgical appliances, few show, in their mouldings and outline, more of the architecture of their times than these thuribles, so that it becomes an easy matter to determine the period when they were made. Within the last few years, several fine specimens have either been discovered or drawn forth from out of the obscurity under which they lay hidden. Not long ago there was found, while draining Whittlesea Mere, a beautiful silver censer, gilt all but the chains, weighing 50 ounces : it belongs to Mr. Wells, who claimed it as lord of the manor ; and it is well figured by Mr. Shaw in his valuable *Decorative Arts of the Middle Ages* ; it is noticed also in this Journal, vol. viii. p. 195. In that truly magnificent collection of

mediæval antiquities, belonging to Prince Soltykoff, at Paris, may be seen one of the two large silver thuribles which, with other precious articles of church-plate, were brought, several years ago, from Basle to this country, and exhibited for sale in London: this has been figured in *Le Moyen age et la Renaissance*, tom. iii., by Lacroix and Seré. The treasury of St. Antonio's church at Padua possesses a most beautiful thurible of a very large size, silver gilt: the navicula, or boat, for holding the incense is even finer and more curious than the censer itself, and is fashioned like a ship with a mast and stern-gallery; all about it are little figures of mariners and soldiers, some cased in regular armour: the thurible and boat were the gift of a Roman pontiff, but the workmanship, in my opinion, is German: they are, however, the finest things of the kind to be met with: my impression is that they never were meant to be employed at the altar, but intended as votive offerings to be hung up at a shrine by way of ornament.

About the use of incense in general some notice may be seen in "*Hierurgia*," cap. xvii, and its employment in the Anglo-Saxon ritual has been pointed out in *The Church of Our Fathers*, t. i., 205.

What may have been the shape of the censer used by the Jews in their ceremonial it would be now hard to find out, for among the sacred vessels brought away from Jerusalem by Titus, and still to be seen sculptured on his triumphal arch at Rome, no appliance for burning incense, if I remember rightly, appears; probably, the Hebrew censer was fashioned like a small chafing-dish or cassolette, resembling, in fact, the thymiamaterium or acerra of the ancients. By the early Christians, however, swinging thuribles, just like those now in use, seem to have been employed, and a tunic-clad figure on one of the frescoes in the catacomb of St. Callistus on the Appian way (given as the frontispiece to *Hierurgia*) appears to hold in his hand such a censer. One of the oldest representations which I know in Western Christendom, is figured among the curious illuminations of that precious Bodleian MS. of Caedmon published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv, where, at plate 83 is seen a figure bearing, on the fore-finger of his right hand, a thurible, in all essential parts, exactly like the one before us; and assuming those

illuminations to have been executed towards the end of the Xth or beginning of the XIth century, we have a valuable illustration of what was the shape of, as well as the mode of carrying, the thurible among the Anglo-Saxons. Of certain large thuribles not swung by the hand but kept constantly hanging from a beam, and at one time used at Rome and in this country, mention is made in *The Church of Our Fathers*, t. i. 206. In St. Paul's, London, a curious method of using the censer is recorded: by means of some kind of mechanism, it would seem that the figure of an angel swinging in one hand a large thurible, was made to come down from the roof of the church and incense the King as he walked into the nave:—"at afternone the King (Henry VII) came riding through the citie to the weste doore of Powles, where his Grace alightde. To receyve hym into the chyrche was the quere of Powles in ther habites and copes.—And at his entre into the chirche, his Grace was sensende with the great senser of Powles by an angell commyng oute of the roof."—*Leland's Collectanea*, t. iii, 217, 218.

While giving the symbolism, some liturgical writers have noticed the shape of the vessels used in the sanctuary, and in such a manner as to let us know some peculiarities of their make; thus Innocent III, *circa* 1190, in a work not sufficiently read, *De Sacro Altaris Sacrificio*, tells us that the thurible sometimes had not three but four chains:—"Nam sicut in thuribulo pars superior et inferior tribus catenulis uniuntur, ita tres in Christo sunt uniones quibus divinitas et humanitas conjunguntur—Quidam autem quartam unionem assignant, videlicet Deitatis ad compositum ex anima simul et carne. Nam et quædam thuribula quatuor habent catenulas."—*Lib. ii., cap. xvii., De formâ thuribuli*. Again, Sicardus says:—"Thuribulum vero est vas utrique legi commune, quod, vel orationalem significat prædicationem quæ excitat ad orandum, vel domini carnem—Si quatuor habuerit lineas, demonstrat eam ex quatuor elementis constare, &c. Quinta linea quæ partes dividit, animam designat, &c. Si vero tres habuerit lineas, figurat carnem, animam et verbum in unam convenire personam. Quarta quæ partes separat potestas est quæ animam suam pro ovibus suis posuit: si una tantum linea sustentatur, significat quod solus de Virgine generatur, vel solus est inter mortuos liber." *Sicardi Ep.*

Cremonensis Mitræ, l. i., c. xiii., p. 48, ed. Migne : by 'linea' is evidently meant "chain ;" and it is curious to find, in the XIIIth century, when Sicardus wrote, a reference made to those singular thuribles, not carried about but kept hung up in some part of the church—"una tantum linea." Durandus, as is his wont, merely repeats what has been said by others before him, and in his *Rationale*, l. iv., c. x., embodies the very words of Pope Innocent and Bishop Sicardus. To save the liturgical student some trouble, I would observe that, by an easy mistake of an R for S, in the printed copies of the *Rationale*, l. vi., c. 105, n. 4, Sicardus is thus quoted :— 'Ricardus Episc. Cremon. dixit in Mitræli,' &c. I once found, figured in an illuminated MS., a thurible, the lid of which was not drawn up by a chain, but attached to the bowl by a hinge.

That like all the other liturgical appliances the thurible was often not only formed of gold and silver as well as copper, but had bestowed upon it all the beauty of design which the cunning of the artist could devise, we gather from various sources, and more especially from that precious book the *Diversarum Artium Schemata*. One of the forms in which the so-called Theophilus the monk suggests it should be made, is that of the Temple as fore-shadowed by the angel, in Ezechiel. In another of those word-sketches which he writes so well, he says :—"fiant flosculi aut aviculæ vel bestiolæ seu fenestellæ—ponantur quatuor capita leonum sive hominum fusilia per quæ catenæ transeant," &c. (*cap. lix.*, p. 205, Paris, Didot.) The dimensions of a thurible, he informs us, should be such—"ita ut altitudo in se ipsius latitudinem totam habeat et ejus medietatem," (*ib. p. 204*) : the small windows, the little birds and beasts, the flowerets, the lions' heads, through which the chains run, on the thurible figured above, speak for themselves ; while curiously enough, its height is about half as much again as its width ; so that, although we may not be justified in ascribing it to the hand of Theophilus himself, it may have come from that of one who was bred up in the school and followed the teachings of the good old workman-monk.

D. ROCK.

REMARKS ON AN EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT IN WINCHESTER
CATHEDRAL.

THERE is a remarkable sepulchral effigy in Winchester Cathedral, which has been from time to time the subject of much unsatisfactory speculation. So far from it having been ascertained, who was commemorated by the monument, it has even been left doubtful, whether he were an Englishman or a foreigner. Where there has been so large an amount of unsuccessful conjecture, a little more may, I hope, be tolerated ; but I propose to offer something else than conjecture as to who was intended to be represented by this effigy, though I may not be able to explain completely everything that has occasioned difficulty in determining to whom it should be referred.

It is the only military effigy of its period existing in that cathedral, or, indeed, in the city of Winchester. Removed many years ago from its original place, which was probably against a wall and under a recess, it now lies, detached from the remains of the tomb to which it belongs, behind the choir, between the monuments of Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Waynflete. The knight was represented in a hauberk, chaperon, and chausses of mail of the time of Edward I., with a surcote reaching a little below the knee. There is no mixture of plate ; but there are fragments of ailettes, and these will require us to ascribe the effigy to the latter part of that reign, if not to the beginning of the next. The legs from the knees downwards are very nearly gone ; but sufficient evidence exists to show that they were crossed, and the feet rested on a lion. The head is slightly inclined, and reposes on two cushions, formerly supported by two angels, the bodies of which remain. The right hand grasps the hilt of the sword, and on the left arm is a shield charged with the following arms, viz., a cross between, in the first and fourth quarters, two cows passant, collared, and belled, and,

in the second and third quarters, three garbs. What was one side or rather the front of the tomb on which, there is good reason to believe, this effigy originally lay, is now built into the eastern wall of the Guardian Angels' chapel. There are carved on it, under five decorated arches, as many



escutcheons suspended by guiges, and bearing respectively the following arms, viz. : 1. The same that are on the knight's shield ; 2. Six eaglets displayed ; 3. England ; 4. France semé ; and 5. Castile and Leon quarterly. About forty years ago the effigy, which had been lying on the floor for some years, was repaired and partially restored. Happily, there was no attempt made to complete the figure, though the time-worn shield underwent that process. More fortunately still, there exists, in Britton's

History of this Cathedral,¹ an engraving from a drawing of this effigy by the truthful pencil of Mr. Blore, which was made before the repair and restoration. This shows that the arms now on the shield agree in all essentials with what were there previously ; and from it is given in the margin a woodcut of the shield and the arms on it as they then appeared. There is also in the same work an engraving from a drawing by the same hand of the front of the tomb ; from which we learn that the arms then upon it remain unaltered in any material respect.

With so much heraldry and such indications of royal connexion or patronage, it might have been expected that there would not have been any great mystery about this effigy. The earliest notice of it which I have met with is in Gale's History and Antiquities of this Cathedral, published in 1715, p. 32 ; where it is thus spoken of : " Behind the Quire on the north side lieth a warlike person, whose figure is much defaced, with this inscription :—

' Hic jacet Willielmus Comes de Insula Vana alias Wineall. ' "

Of this singular inscription, which does not on a first perusal

¹ Pl. xxvi.

impress one with a favourable opinion of its authenticity, I shall presently have more to say. Gough, in his *Sepulchral Monuments*,² published in 1796, after describing the effigy, which he speaks of as in the north aisle, adds, "on his shield (are) two bulls with bells, quartering three gerbes, at his feet a hound. The front of the tomb now fixed against the wall, has the bulls and gerbes, six eagles displayed, three lions passant gardant, old France, Castile and Leon." He says nothing of the inscription.

Dr. Milner, who passed for an authority in his day, and not without some reason, though he is not to be trusted where heraldry is in question, describes the effigy, in his *History of Winchester*,³ as "the mutilated figure of an ancient crusader, armed *cap-à-pie* in a hauberk, with his sword and shield; the latter of which bears quarterly two bulls passant, gorged with collars and bells, and three garbs for the princely family of De Foix, of which was Capital de la Buch, Knight of the Garter of the first creation by Edward III. On an adjoining slab are the arms of the Royal families, to which he appears to have been related, namely, England, France, Castile, Leon," &c. He then goes on to quote from Gale the inscription before mentioned, as one "which is said formerly to have existed here." In his edition of 1809, he has altered these words, and speaks of the inscription as having formerly been "on the monument," but adduces no new authority. It will be observed that he notices only royal arms on the front of the tomb; but there can be no doubt of the others having been there at that time. The omission may, perhaps, be attributed to his not having intended to speak of any but royal alliances.

Britton, in his description of the effigy,⁴ states, that it is "finely executed, and is said to represent William de Foix, of the princely family of that name, who resided on an estate called Vana, or Wineall, near Winchester." As he quotes no authority for this, I presume it is a bold interpretation of the inscription that we owe to Gale, by the light of information too hastily borrowed from Milner.

No trace of the inscription remains, nor is it known where it was placed. It does not read like an original

² Vol. i. pt. ii. p. 201.

³ Vol. ii. p. 75, 1st edition.

⁴ Winchester Cathedral, p. 102.

one, but like one of later date embodying an erroneous tradition, or a tradition misunderstood. No such title as "Comes de Insula Vana," or "Earl of Wineall," is known to have existed in this country or elsewhere. For a while I thought it might have been a foreign title translated into Latin, and rendered into vernacular English; but I can discover none by which it can be explained. Had there been such a count or earl allied to the royal families of England, France, and Castile and Leon, he would surely appear in some of the genealogies or histories, and have been brought to light before now. The Captal de la Buch t. Edward III. was not a De Foix; nor are the arms of the family of De Foix on the monument: they were, *or* three pallets *gu.* It is true that at a later date they were quartered with *or* two cows passant *gu.* collared and belled *az.*; but that was the coat of Bearn, and it misled, no doubt, Dr. Milner. Wineall, formerly Winhale, or Wynhale, and now Winnall, is a small parish very near Winchester, extending some distance up the chalk hills. There is no evidence or probability of its having ever been insulated, though near the river; nor of its having been a lordship vested in any family in which there was an earldom at all resembling in name that mentioned in the inscription.

Some years ago Mr. Planchè examined this effigy, and he has discussed it and the heraldry connected with it in vol. i. of the Journal of the British Archaeological Association. He also came to the conclusion, which indeed seems unavoidable, that the inscription mentioned by Gale is not trustworthy, and that the effigy does not commemorate a De Foix, or any earl de Insula Vana, or Wineall. He could not reconcile the arms on the knight's shield, or the six eaglets displayed, with any English family of the period to which the effigy manifestly belongs, associated as they are with the royal coats of England, France, and Castile and Leon. Though six eaglets displayed were borne by several English families, he inclined to refer them to Peter de Gavaston, who bore *vert* six eaglets displayed *or*; but on that supposition he could discover no one to whom he could attribute the effigy. He has concluded his paper by calling "attention to the very unsatisfactory account at present existing of this finely executed and interesting effigy."

Such is the present state of our information as to this

effigy.⁶ I have known it eight years, and had examined it twice or thrice before I was aware of what Mr. Planchè had written on the subject. In much that he states I fully concur. From what has been said, I need not add that I do not credit the inscription, nor can I admit that it commemorated a De Foix. For a while I was a little sceptical as to the arms on the knight's shield: I imagined they might have been carved in the fifteenth century on a blank shield that had once borne the original arms in colours only; but I saw good reason to abandon that supposition, when I found the same arms on the front of the tomb, without there being the slightest ground to question their genuineness. I felt assured too the knight was a foreigner; for those arms are very unlike English heraldry of that or any other period, and more easily reconcileable with some foreign examples; and I am strongly inclined to the opinion, that the arms with the six eaglets displayed were those of Gavaston. Still I might have remained in the same state of uncertainty as Mr. Planchè, had it not come to my knowledge through Mr. Blaauw, who first brought the fact forward in modern times, that a Sir Arnald de Gavaston was buried at Winchester in 1302. When I received this information I had not leisure to take up the inquiry anew; but anticipated that this fact would prove the desired clue to the right appropriation of the monument. So the matter rested till Mr. B. B. Woodward, who is engaged in writing an account of Winchester Cathedral, was very recently referred to me for information about the effigy in question. This led me to return to the subject, and I proceed to give the result of my further researches and speculations.

That Sir Arnald de Gavaston was buried at Winchester in May, 1302, we learn from the *compotus* or account, in 30 Edward I., of John Swanland, a messenger who had been sent, in the month of May in that year, from Guildford, by the King's command, to Winchester, to carry some money and two pieces of cloth of gold for the funeral of Sir Arnald de Gavaston deceased, which was to take place there.⁶

⁶ See note at the end of this Paper.

⁶ 30 Edw. I. Eidem (Johanni de Swanland) misso mense Maij de Guldeford per preceptum Regis usque Wyntone, ad de-

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ferendum ibidem tam denarios quam duos pannos ad aurum pro exequiis domini Arnaldi de Gavastone mortui ibidem faciendis, pro vadis suis sic eundo,

U

This is the document in the Carlton Ride referred to by Mr. Blaauw in his account of the Letters of Edward II. when Prince of Wales, published in the Sussex Archaeological Collections, vol. ii., p. 97; but for want of a definite reference to it, and in consequence of Mr. Blaauw having lost or destroyed his notes, I am greatly indebted to the kindness of Mr. Hunter for having it searched for, and eventually found again. The valuables conveyed by the messenger may perhaps remind some of the present of money and a piece of rich brocade sent to a wife who was supposed to have lost her husband, which is mentioned in one of the tales of the Arabian Nights. In this case the money no doubt was to defray some expenses, and the cloth of gold to add to the splendour of the ceremonial. This rich material was probably used to throw over the coffin, for in the singular Will of Sir Lewis Clifford in 1404, he desires, "that on my stinking carrion be neither laid cloth of gold nor of silk;"⁷ and in the Paston Letters we read of cloth of gold being required for covering the body and hearse of the Duke of Norfolk; and Sir John Paston writes home for that to be sent which he bought for his father's tomb.⁸

The question now arises, who was Sir Arnald de Gavaston? The earliest mention I have found of him is in the 1 Edward I. It will be remembered that when that king, on the death of his father, returned from the Holy Land, he came through France. After doing homage at Paris to Philip III. for Guienne, he proceeded to that Duchy, and received the homage of his vassals there, and among them of Gaston de Moncade, Viscount of Bearn, who had been rebellious, and was still suspected. The king took from him a solemn promise, on pain of forfeiting all his lands held of himself, that he would not quit his court without leave; and four knights, apparently all Gascons, judging from their names, among whom was Sir Arnald de Gavaston, undertook, in a similar manner, that the viscount would keep his promise.⁹ This occurred "apud Saltum" (? Sault), on the Monday after Michaelmas, 1273, and it seems to show

ibidem morando pro negociis dictas exequias tangentibus, et ad curiam redeundo, per vij dies, xvij die Maij, pro primo computu patet, per diem xvij^d, quia ad sumptus domini Johannis de Drogenesford in quibusdam necessariis; xx. vjd."

Carlton Ride Records, T.G. 38,947. As the original was hastily written and is much contracted, I give the words *in extenso*.

⁷ Test. Vetusta, p. 164.

⁸ Vol. ii. letter lxvii.

⁹ Rymer, i. p. 505.

that Sir Arnald was then closely connected in some way with the Viscount of Bearn; he probably held lands both of him and King Edward, or the viscount may have been a mesne lord between the king, as Duke of Guienne, and Sir Arnald; for his lands as well as Gaston's were liable to forfeiture in the event of the latter breaking his promise. The next mention that I have found of Sir Arnald is in 16 Edward I. (1288), when he was delivered by King Edward as a hostage, with the same Gaston Viscount of Bearn and many others, to Alphonso III., King of Arragon, to secure the performance by the King of England of an obligation which he had entered into, to pay the King of Arragon 70,000 marcs, in case the Prince of Salerno did not keep his engagements with Alphonso.¹ This transaction took place at Campo Franco, whither Edward had gone as a mediator between Alphonso and the Prince of Salerno, respecting the kingdom of Sicily, which had recently passed from the house of Anjou to that of Arragon after the Sicilian vespers, and also respecting the liberation of the prince himself, who was a prisoner in the hands of Alphonso. Though called Prince of Salerno, he was in reality the son and successor of Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily, who was then recently dead. How he kept his engagements with Alphonso I must leave the histories of those two kingdoms to tell. The next notice of Sir Arnald that I have met with is in the year 1299, when he appears to have recently escaped from the prison of the King of France, and to have come to England with two other knights, namely, R. de Caupenne and Bertram Pavisalls. This I learn from an entry, in the Household Accounts of the king in that year, of the payment of 7*l.* 10*s.* to them for their expenses in journeying through Brabant, and passing into England. Whether this was his first visit to this country may be questionable, as many Gascons had been brought to England, and employed by Edward in the subjection of Wales, in 1282. We find him mentioned again in the Household Accounts of the 28 Edward I. (1300), published by the Society of Antiquaries, pp. 200-1, where there are entries of two payments of 22*l.* 8*s.* and 15*l.* 12*s.* to Sir Arnald de "Gavoston," banneret, for the wages of himself and his four esquires. The latest and only

¹ Rymer, i. p. 689.

other notice of him, which has come to my knowledge, is that in the before-mentioned Messenger's account, which proves that he died in 1302, and was buried at Winchester. The sending the money and the cloth of gold to Winchester on that occasion shows the king had great regard for him. Of his parentage nothing has been discovered, nor is anything known of any wife or issue, unless Edward II.'s favourite, Peter de Gavaston, were his son, which is highly probable, as I hope to show in a few words, though further evidence is required to justify me in asserting it to be a fact.

With regard to the surname, De Gavaston, I would observe, it is evidently of local origin. We have seen that Sir Arnald was associated with, and most likely a vassal of, the Viscount of Bearn. Now, I cannot find any such place as Gavaston; but in Bearn was an ancient barony called Gabaston, and a place of the name still exists about five or six leagues north-east of Pau. Probably from this barony, either by birth within it or otherwise, Sir Arnald, or some ancestor of his, derived this surname. I need hardly mention that Bearn borders on Spain, where the *b* and the *v* have long been used almost indiscriminately for each other, a practice which is traceable in the language of that part of France. In this country the name was variously spelt, but most commonly either Gavaston or Gaveston, and sometimes Gaverston, yet it occurs in Hemingford as Gaberston. The inhabitants of Bearn were at that time often called Gascons, in like manner as Gascony was used to comprise more than the duchy properly so called.

Sir Arnald was in all probability some years younger than Edward I. Peter was very nearly of the same age as Edward II., perhaps a year or two older, and is said to have been from Gascony, and the son of a knight ("a Wasconia oriundus, filius fuit cujusdam militis"). His father, as far as I can learn, is nowhere mentioned by name, but is said to have been a Gascon (Vasconus)—"regis Edwardi senioris quondam familiaris—miles generosus," who had done the king faithful service; and the king is said to have been not unmindful of his services, but had placed his son Peter in the court of the Prince of Wales, to be brought up (*nutritum*) with him.²

² See Monachus Malmesb., p. 109; Trokelow, p. 5; Hemingford i. p. 242, Hearne's editions.

Seeing the respect paid by the king to Sir Arnald's memory on the occasion of the funeral, the latter had no doubt rendered much greater services than the scanty notices we have of him show. There is nothing therefore improbable in the supposition that he was Peter's father ; on the other hand, I think we have seen that—there is a great deal to warrant an opinion that he was the father of Peter.

If such were the fact, or indeed if he were any near relation of Peter, then, with the exception of one coat, all the arms on the monument may be easily accounted for ; since, whether executed before the accession of Edward II., or, as seems more probable, after that event when Peter was Earl of Cornwall and in high favour with the king, and married to his niece, his own coat and that of England might be expected to be found there ; and the addition of those of France, and Castile and Leon, the realms from which the royal patron of Arnald had married his two queens, one of whom was the mother of Peter's patron, and the other the aunt of his betrothed or actual queen, would be quite in accordance with the usage of the time. The King of France, I may add, was the lord paramount of Sir Arnald's fief in Bearn. The other coat—that which is on the knight's shield and also on the front of the monument, and has occasioned so much difficulty—is not so easily explained. It is not properly two coats quartered with a cross over all ; for then the cross would have partially overlaid the other charges ; but it is, as I have before blazoned it, a cross between, in the first and fourth quarters, two cows passant, collared, and belled, and, in the second and third quarters, three garbs. The only known quartered coats, I believe, at the time this monument was executed, were Castile and Leon, and probably Hainault, which was composed of Flanders and Holland, and was assumed soon after 1300. The Roll of Arms, t. Edward II. attributes a quartered coat at that time to an English subject, namely, Sir Symon de Montagu ;³ but if then used by him, it does not appear to have been continued. Or two cows passant *gu.*, collared and belled *az.*, were the arms of Gaston Viscount of Bearn, of whom we have seen Sir Arnald was probably a vassal. This Gaston

³ Quartile de argent c de azure ; en les quarters de azure les griffons de or ; en les quarters de argent les daunces de goules.

was also "Dominus Montis Catani et Castelli veteris ;" but the cross and garbs did not belong to those lordships, for the arms of the former were six bezants, and those of the latter a castle, as may be seen in the engraving of his seal in Bysshe's Notes to Upton, p. 56. Garbs were not a common bearing in France : three were borne by families named Brosse and Aust, and also by Briois and Avenieres with what may have been a difference ; but none of these families have been found to be in any way connected with Bearn, nor indeed does the family of the Viscounts of Bearn appear to have been allied to any family bearing garbs. Still I cannot doubt that the cows have reference to Bearn ; and, as we have seen reason to think that Sir Arnald was a vassal of Gaston Viscount of Bearn, I would suggest that the garbs (*tres garbas*) may be a canting allusion to the first two syllables of Gabaston, in accordance with the practice of the time. Though not one of the happiest of such allusive bearings, many might be quoted that were little, if at all, better. The cross may have been adopted merely as a mode of separating the other charges, in the same manner as it may be seen to have been employed in the *signum*, as it is called, of Alphonso IV. of Castile and Leon, to the release by him of his pretensions to Gascony, in 1254,⁴ which was before those arms were quartered on his seal. A similar mode of separating the quarterings was used by the Kings of Castile and Leon, both in the *signum* and on their seals, as late as 1307, as appears by a charter of Ferdinand IV., now in the British Museum.

Thus considered, these arms would be in the nature of a feudal coat, or a coat having a feudal origin, composed in part of the arms of the lord of the fief. This would make it more easy to comprehend why Peter de Gavaston did not use the same arms as his father ; for, even if he succeeded to the fief of his father in Bearn, he had far more important fiefs here ; and, being raised to so high a position, he may have thought the garbs not a happy allusion to his patronymic, and preferred assuming a new and more pretentious bearing. I cannot discover any good reason for his choosing eagles ; but it is remarkable that Ralph Monthermer, another foreigner (I believe) of inferior condition, who at that time

⁴ Rymer, i. opp. p. 310.

had married an English princess, the mother of Gavaston's wife, bore an eagle displayed with the same tinctures as Gavaston, viz., *vert* and *or*, but reversed, his being *or* an eagle displayed *vert*. Neither he nor Gavaston appears to have been in any way connected with the Empire.

Upon the whole, I hope I have shown that it is highly probable that this effigy commemorated Sir Arnald de Gavaston, and that he was the father of Peter de Gavaston. Supposing, however, that he was not the father, but some other relation of Peter de Gavaston, so common was it for different members of the same family, even brothers, at that time to bear coats of arms essentially unlike, according to the different alliances or feudal engagements that they contracted, that there would still be sufficient reason to justify us in regarding this effigy as intended to represent Sir Arnald de Gavaston. In either case, as Peter de Gavaston was put to death in 1312, it could hardly have been executed later than in that year; so that its date must be placed between the death of Sir Arnald in May, 1302, and the death of Peter in 1312, and most probably about 1308.

W. S. W.

NOTE.—After this Paper had been read at a Meeting of the Institute, I discovered that some further observations had been made on this monument by Mr. Planchè, which are reported in vol. xii., pp. 94—96, of the British Archaeological Association. He stated that he had received from Mr. F. J. Baigent of Winchester “two rubbings he had taken from the front edge of the slab, of a name which had been twice incised upon it, and which proved to be ‘Petrus Gauston,’ or ‘Gavston.’” Woodcuts of the rubbings are there given. Judging from them, the writing is not earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century, and had been scratched on the stone with a point: most probably, it is mere scribbling, as the words occur twice. The usual mark of abbreviation to indicate *er*, seems omitted after the *u*. It appears to be a contracted form of Gaverston, as we have seen the name was sometimes written. In a MS. chronicle preserved in the Library in

Reigate Church, the name is written Gaverston in the text, and Gau'ston in the margin. That MS. is probably of the latter half of the fourteenth century. The scribbling may have been the record of somebody's conviction that the monument was that of Peter de Gavaston. However, Mr. Planché could not concur in this opinion, though he thought the effigy might have commemorated some member of his family. He noticed that Gavaston's parentage was unknown, and mentioned "Arnaldo de Gavaston," as if he might have been a relative; but he did not appear to have been aware of his having been buried at Winchester. It is singular this scribbling should not have been found earlier. The particulars of the discovery, and how it was made would have been acceptable. It seems improbable that, within a century after the monument was erected, there could have been a doubt as to whom it was intended to represent. Peter de Gavaston was ultimately buried at King's Langley, Herts, his remains having been removed thither from Oxford in 1314.

**EXPENSES OF THE EMBASSY TO BRING THE MAID OF NORWAY
TO SCOTLAND, A.D. 1290.**

COMMUNICATED BY JOSEPH BURTT, ESQ., ASSISTANT KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

THE document which forms the subject of this notice is of greater value, from the very important historical event with which it is connected, than on account of its own intrinsic interest. After the settlement of the affairs of England, and the termination of the war in Wales, the attention of King Edward I. was directed to the kingdom of Scotland. The heiress apparent of this kingdom was his own niece, and a marriage between her and the King's only son would offer a satisfactory solution to all parties of an enterprise on which the royal hopes were concentrated. I shall not, however, here offer any observations upon the historical importance of the then projected union of Edward of Caernarvon with Margaret the Maid of Norway. The contemporary chronicler, the annalist of later years, and the modern historian, have dwelt in the most glowing and pathetic terms upon the preparations that were made to receive the child of so many hopes, as well as upon the anxiety with which her arrival from the land of her birth to the kingdom over which she was to rule was expected. How vast were the political consequences involved in this one life! Failing her advent and occupation of the throne, there was every probability that Scotland would become the prize in a struggle between the members of a powerful nobility among whom the claims of royal consanguinity were distributed.

The duration and prosperity of the reign of Alexander III. had been productive of two serious evils. Its length allowed the collateral claimants of the crown to become extinct and their titles diffused, leaving a young and delicate girl the sole heiress to the throne in a direct line; its prosperity ensured that the succession would be fiercely contested where

even a shadow of right could be adduced to justify a contest. In order to avoid the impending calamities, the union of the royal princess with the son of Edward I. was cordially desired by the people, and carefully arranged by the chief Scotch nobles with the princess's father.¹ The Scottish Parliament liberally agreed to the proposals of the neighbouring sovereign, while it insisted on conditions calculated to preserve the independence of the Kingdom.

On leaving her father's home, it was not at first arranged whether the princess should land directly in Scotland or pass through England on her way. The latter course was eventually decided upon, but with the intention that her stay in England should depend on the state of affairs in her own country. To Scotland, however, the princess belonged, and to the "two eminent knights of Fife," David Weemys and Michael Scott, was committed the important duty of proceeding to the Norwegian court and of bringing home the precious charge. But, by the sudden and mysterious death of the princess on her homeward voyage—an event over which the greatest obscurity prevails—all hopes of a pacific succession were annihilated, and the country was plunged into the fearful prospect of a civil war, aggravated by the evident designs of the English sovereign upon the national freedom.

Important as these transactions were, nothing can be more complete than the blank which exists as to the particulars of the embassy that was sent to Norway, though there can be no doubt that they were all duly recorded among the other details of those transactions of which it formed so eventful a part. And it is simply owing to the minute care with which details were given relating to public

¹ Sharon Turner thus comments upon the circumstances of the projected union and its probable results. "The same benefits which were connected with the incorporation of England and Wales would have followed a cordial union between North and South Britain. The experience of the last century has proved how it has increased the happiness and improvements of both, and it does credit to Edward's judgment as a statesman that he projected its accomplishment by the marriage of the princess. But it was a measure that could be successful and beneficial only so far as the union

was voluntary, and as the means of establishing it should be peaceable and quiet. Patriotic feelings, ever honourable to the individuals who cherish them within the bounds of moral duty, and protecting so usefully the independence of states, are in their first impulses averse to national incorporations; time only can lead the general mind to a perception of their advantages, and the adoption of measures for diminishing or averting their inconveniences. Edward, by a casualty of nature, missed the quiet gratification of his wishes."

matters which involved an expenditure of time, money, or stores, that we are indebted for the evidence now produced. The accidents to which the records of the sister kingdom have been exposed, and the losses they have experienced, are well known ; but it is somewhat remarkable that amongst our own national collections nothing (so far as I am aware) is known to exist which throws any further light upon the Norwegian expedition.

The evidence now brought forward, while it is a fresh instance of the value of subsidiary sources of information, is still very imperfect ; were it existing in a complete state, it would doubtless have cleared up the whole mystery in which the last few months of the life of the Maid of Norway is involved. Some of the contemporary writers have said that the princess died in Norway before the ambassadors arrived there ; but most of those of later times have followed the account of Walsingham, who asserts that she died in the Orkneys on her passage homeward.

With regard to the embassy itself, the document now before us shows that precisely the same system of mutuality was brought to bear upon its arrangements, which had prevailed in those for the projected marriage and the union of the two nations. While the ambassadors themselves were Scottish knights, the ship and the provisions with which it was supplied were furnished by the English sovereign from the port of Yarmouth.² On the return of the vessel to port from its unsuccessful errand, the officers in charge of the royal stores were bound to see that those which had been supplied to the ship on her outward voyage were duly accounted for or returned ;—a practice which prevails at the present day. The document which follows is the account so made out, and it describes the manner in which the balance was struck on that occasion. And, if the princess actually embarked, and was landed in the Orkneys or some other island on her passage, it relates to the very ship in which she sailed, and to the provisions and articles provided for her use and comfort. But there is not the slightest allusion to any circumstances relating to her.

² The superintendence of the vessel and its stores was probably committed to one "Henry the Scot," as he will be seen to have made additions to the stock

of wine and meal, and to have paid the wages of the captain, Richard de Goseford and his sailors.

The object of the voyage appears incidentally in the first entry, which refers to the "wine put by Matthew de Columbariis on board the great ship of Yarmouth which was sent to Norway for the Maid of Scotland." The provisions consisted of the usual royal household stores of the thirteenth century; the fish comprising "fishes of Aberdeen," stock-fish, sturgeon, lampreys, whale, and herrings. The bulk of the articles, including wine, seems to have been shared between the ambassadors and crew; while the ale, nuts, spices, and condiments were reserved for the ambassadors alone. The gross quantities of the articles furnished are not given; the sailors are said to have used so much or so many, and the ambassadors the rest. Some of the entries seem to show that difficulties existed in making the balance even, and are expressed with a vagueness that will appear amusing. "Of the nuts, the sailors used none, but the ambassadors used a certain part, and the rest were lost by decay." "Of the salt, the ambassadors used a part, and the sailors a part—a half they think." "Of the sugar, the ambassadors used a part, and the rest vanished in the ship." The "measure of Yarmouth," to which the provisions were subjected on their return, appears to have been very strict. Some of the articles were given away "pro Deo," in charity. The stores were on one occasion turned to account to provide for other wants. "Of the wheat, none was used, but all was returned to Yarmouth, except one barrel which Andrew the valet of Matthew de Columbariis sold, by command of the said Matthew, to purchase himself a robe and other necessaries." Some of the "organs, banners, and penons," provided for the state purposes of the expedition were taken away by the ambassadors, some were kept at Yarmouth. On the back of the account is entered an appraisement of the articles returned and their disposition. They were consigned to the keeping of Godfrey Pilgrim and Richard de Goseford, with the understanding that they were to be answered for to the King at his pleasure.

ACCOUNT PRESERVED AMONGST THE MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS IN THE
CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER.

Marinarii ceperunt xvj. dolia pro. xxxiiij. li. xij. s. iij. d. precium doli xij. s. iij. d.

³ De vinis positis per Matheum de Columbariis in magna navi de Gernemuth, que missa fuit usque Norwagiam pro domicilla Scocie, receperunt Marinarii ad expensas suas, xvj. dolia, iij. dolia dedit predictus Matheus pro Deo apud Gernemuth, et j. fractum fuit apud Hertenpol, et residua expendiderunt Nuncii : j. pipa posita fuit in olagio.⁴

marinarii respondent de cxvj. s. pro xxiij. quarteria, precium quarterii iij. s. x. d.

De farina posita in eadem navi per eundem Matheum receperunt iidem Marinarii ad expensas suas xx. et iij^{or} quarteria, et xij^{clm} quarteria corrupta fuerunt, et data pro Deo, e. residua in expensis Nunciorum.

nihil respondent.

De servisia posita in eadem per eundem Matheum dedit idem Matheus v. dolia pro Deo, et residuam expendiderunt Nuncii.

marinarii respondent de lix. s. pro viij. carcossia, precium carcossii vij. s. iij. d.

Item de carcossiiis bovum receperunt iidem Marinarii ad expensas suas octo carcossia, et residua expendiderunt Nuncii.

marinarii respondent de lxxvj. s. viij. d. pro xl. pernis, precium pernae xx. d.

De pernis baconum expendiderunt Marinarii xl. et xviiij. corruptæ fuerunt et datæ pro Deo, et residuas expendiderunt Nuncii.

marinarii respondent de lviij. s. iij. d. pro cc. precium cujua libet iij. d. ob.

De piscibus de Aberden expendiderunt Marinarii cc. et c. et xxxj corrupti et dati pro Deo, et residuos expendiderunt Nuncii.

marinarii respondent de viij. s. iij. d. pro c. precium cujua libet j. d.

De Stokfys expendiderunt Marinarii c. et ejecti fuerunt propter corruptionem xlj. et residuos expendiderunt Nuncii.

marinarii respondent de x. s. pro dimidio barillæ: precium patet.

De Sturiun' expendiderunt Marinarii quandam partem, nesciunt quantum ; set vere sciunt quod medietas et plus expendebatur per Nuncios, et [residua pars] data fuit pro Deo propter corruptionem.

respondent de liij. li. xj. s. x. d. ob.

De Lampredis expendiderunt Marinarii xxxv. et residuos expendiderunt Nuncii.

respondent de v. s. ix. d.

De balena expendiderunt Marinarii xxv. li. et residuam Nuncii.

respondent de iij. s. pro d. allecibus.

De allecibus expendiderunt Marinarii v^o. et residuum ejectum fuit propter corruptionem et datum pro Deo.

nihil respondent.

De amigdalibus nihil expendiderunt Marinarii, set Nuncii expendiderunt quandam partem, et residua data fuerunt pro Deo

³ The marginal notes were evidently added ; there are several alterations in them which it has not been thought necessary to distinguish. They were obviously made for the purpose of enabling the officers of the Exchequer to apportion the expenses to the respec-

tive official branches, the words "Marinarii respondent" meaning only that so much shall be debited to that head of expenditure.

⁴ The last six words added subsequently. *Olagium*, "ullage of a cask is what it wants of being full."—Bailey.

propter corruptionem apud Gernemutham fratribus prædicatoribus per Henricum de Raggeleye.

respondent de
ij. s. x. d. ob.
precium libræ
ob.

De Rys nichil expendiderunt Marinarii, set Nuncii expendiderunt quandam partem, et lxij. li. reducerunt apud Gernemutham.

nihil respondent.

De Gruel expendiderunt Nuncii quandam partem, et residuum dederunt Marinarii pro Deo quia corruptum.

respondent de
xix. s.

De fabis albis et nigris, et pisis expendiderunt Nuncii quandam partem, videlicet quartam, ut credunt Marinarii, et ipsi Marinarii expendiderunt residuum.

respondent de
vij. s. vj. d.

De cenapio expendiderunt Nuncii unam medietatem [scilicet de xj. lagenis⁶] et aliam medietatem Marinarii ut credunt.

nihil respondent.

De vino acro expendiderunt Nuncii quandam partem, et aliam partem perditum fuit.⁶

respondent de
xij. d.

De cepis et allea expendiderunt Nuncii quandam partem, et Marinarii quandam partem, et, ut credunt, quartam partem, et residuum ejectum propter corruptionem.

respondent de
xvj. s. ix. d.

De caseis [scilicet c. viij. ponderantes iij. peys] expendiderunt Nuncii octo (ponderantes iiiij. partem j. peys) et (xl. casei ponderantes scilicet j. peis) ejecti fuerunt⁷ propter corruptionem, et lx. caseos ponderantes scilicet j. peys di' et j. quarter, expendiderunt Marinarii.

nihil respondent.

De nucibus nichil expendiderunt Marinarii, set Nuncii expendiderunt quandam partem, et residuum perditum propter corruptionem.

respondent de
vij. s.

De Sale partem expendiderunt Nuncii, et partem Marinarii, ut credunt, medietatem.

nihil respondent.

De Sucre partem expendiderunt Nuncii, et residuum evanuit in navi.

respondent de
xvij. s. vj. d.

De zinzybere, cetewale, pipere, cimino, macys, cub. (?) albo pulvere, totum expendiderunt et asportaverunt Nuncii præter ix. li. zinziberis, xj. li. piperis, et quinque li. cimini, quas predicti Marinarii reducerunt apud Gernemutham, precium ut extra.

respondent de
vij. s.

De figis et reysines expendiderunt Nuncii ij. fraell', et Marinarii residuum, scilicet ij. fraell'.

nihil respondent.

De croco totum expendiderunt et asportaverunt Nuncii.

nihil respondent.

De gyngebred, galyngale, canele (candelis de cera), totum expendiderunt et asportaverunt Nuncii.

respondent de
x. s.

Candelas de cepo expendiderunt Marinarii, cepum et

⁶ The words in brackets are interlined.

⁶ Thus in the original.

⁷ Ponderantes scilicet, j. peis.

cracetum expendiderunt Nuncii (et partem reduxerunt apud Gernemutham).

respondent de
liij. s.

Cracetum, cum tuellis, iij. mappas. j. manutergium, v. ulnas canabi reduxerunt Marinarii apud Gernemutham, et remanent, et residuum asportaverunt Nuncii.

respondent de
v. s.

De turbis et busca totum in expensis Nunciorum et Marinarii . . . ? fuerunt in navi.

nihil respondent.

De discis, platellis, et cyphis totum asportatum (per Nuncios) et perditum in navi.

respondent de
ix. s.

De mortariis, gatys, paneriis, saccis, clayis, tancardis, cacabo (ollis eneis) et cuphinis de ? vacuis doliis, coffris, (ciata) organis, baneris, penecellis, reducta fuit, et remanent apud Gernemutham ij. mortaria, ij. gatæ, j. panerium, ij. sacci, ij. tancardes, et j. cacabum, ij. ollæ enesæ (organa) j. cysta, baneria, et penecella, et residuum asportatum per Nuncios et fractum et perditum in navi, set vacua dolia clamat Andreus vallettus Mathei ut sua propria de feodo et habet illa.

respondent de
xxvj. li. ix. s.
vj. d. predum
doli xxxix. s.
liij. d.

De doliis vini positis in navi per Henricum le Escot receperunt Marinarii ad expensas suas xiiij. dolia, et xxvj. reduxerunt apud Gernemutham.

respondent de
vj. li. xx. d.

De farina ex providencia Henrici Lescot non fuerunt posita in navi nisi quinque dolia, de quibus Marinarii receperunt iiij^{or} ad expensas, et j. reduxerunt apud Gernemutham.

respondent ad
liij. li. xij. s.

De cera nichil in expensas, sed reducta apud Gernemutham.

De frumento nichil in expensas, sed totum reductum apud Gernemutham, præter j. dolium plenum de frumento, quod Andreus Vallettus Mathei de Columbariis vendidit per preceptum ipsius Mathei ad emendum sibi unam robam et alia necessaria, et vj. quarteria perditæ fuerunt in navi secundum mensuram de Gernemutha.

ON THE BACK.

respondent de
x. li. xliij. s.
liij. d.

Instaurum Domini Regis reductum de Norwagia in navi de Gernemutha taxatum est per sacramentum proborum et legallium hominum de Gernemutha.

respondent de
xxvij. li.

Videlicet de xxvj. doliis vini quæ reducta fuerunt, quorum j. positum fuit ibidem in oyllagio et partim datum pro Deo, taxantur vij. dolia ad vij. marcas et xvij. dolia ad ix. marcas, quia ad tantum debilitata fuerunt in mari.

Item de lx. et vij. quarteriis frumenti et dimidio reductis et positis in xx. doliis appreciatur quarterium ad viij. sol'. et x. quarteria perditæ fuerunt in mensura in exitu faciendo.

Summa totalis c. xxxvj. li. xvij. s. v. d. Probatum.^s

^s This total is grossly wrong, the value of the wine only, at the prices given,

Et de isto instauro habet Godefridus Pylegrym in custodia medietatem vinorum, bladi, et ceræ ad respondendum Domino Regi ad voluntatem suam, et eciam habet in custodia cacabum, ij. ollas eneas, baneria, et penecella.

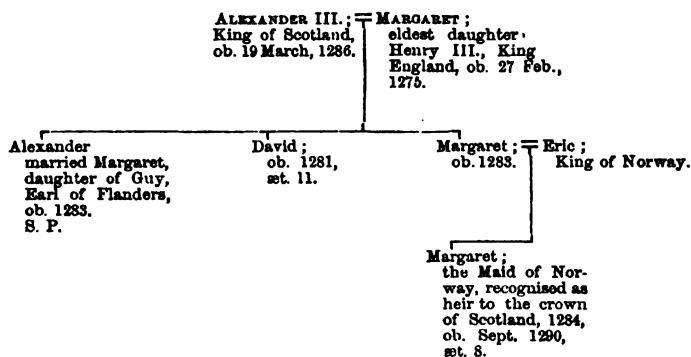
Et Ricardus de Goseford habet in custodia aliam medietatem prædictorum vinorum, bladorum, et ceræ, et eciam mortaria et alias res minutas prænotatas, de quibus respondebit Domino Regi ad voluntatem suam.

Item Ricardus de Goseford recepit de Henrico le Escot xx^{li} li. pro expensis suis et marinariorum, et iiij^{or} quarteria farinæ, precium quarterii, xxiiij. s.

amounting to £140 13s. 4d. It is preceded by several cancelled entries of the

appraisement of articles entered on the front of the account.

DESCENT OF THE MAID OF NORWAY.



Original Documents.

LEASE BY THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF CHRIST CHURCH,
CANTERBURY, OF THEIR MANOR OF WODETONE. DATED
SEPT. 29, 17 EDWARD II., 1323.

THE following document is a demise, by the Prior and Convent of Canterbury, to an inhabitant of Merstham in Surrey, of the keeping of their Manor of Wodeton with the appurtenances. It appears to present some features of interest, not only as showing the precision with which monastic manors were leased, but also as comprising certain particulars illustrative of the ancient agriculture and management of estates in some of the southern counties.

It has not been found practicable to identify clearly the situation of the manor. We learn from the Hundred Rolls and from evidences cited in the Monasticon, that the monastery of Christ Church possessed a manor called Wodeton, in one of the Loxfield Hundreds, Sussex, the only one they held in that county.¹ There is found to be a reputed manor now called Wotton, near Chilington in the Hundred of Street; and we are indebted to Mr. W. Figg, F.S.A., of Lewes, for pointing out the existence of a farm called Wooton, in the parish of Folkington, in the Hundred of Longbridge. We have sought in vain for a manor of that or any similar name in either of the Hundreds of Loxfield. Whilst, however, the fact of their possessing but one manor in the county of Sussex might account for its being placed under the charge of the *Custos* of their Manor of Merstham in the adjoining county, it would seem more probable that the manor in question was situate in the wooded district south of that place in the direction of Charlwood. This supposition appears in some degree sanctioned by the fact, that the Manor of Merstham, which had been given to the monks of Canterbury by Athelstan in 1018, had a member in Charlwood; and the nature of the locality in early times would account for the occurrence of a manor there of the name of "Wodetone." It must, however, be observed that Gervase of Dover, who has recorded that donation, mentions a Wodeton as having been given by Archbishop Elfege in 1010,² but where this was situate is not stated. There is one passage in the lease which may seem to suggest, that the manor in question was at some considerable distance from Merstham, since the lessee was bound to pay annually a compensation of 6s. 8d. to the *Custos* of Merstham for his expenses at Wodeton and his

¹ Hund. Rolls, vol. ii. p. 207. It was found that the Prior of Christ Church was accustomed to exercise a right of chase at Wodeton in the Hundred of Lokkesfeld. The Cottonian transcript of the King's Domesday, as cited in the new edition of the Monasticon, vol. i., p. 103, includes Wodeton among the

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manors of the monastery; and the Roll of its manors, which was first printed by Stevens, mentions it as in Lockesfield Hundred, Sussex. (Mon. Angl., vol. i. p. 88.)

² Monast. Angl. vol. i. p. 97; new edition.

journey to and fro. This however may be explained by the fact of Charlwood being distant about ten miles from Merstham.

Such of our readers as take an interest in agriculture will not fail to observe the nature of the *vestura* or growing crops. There was, besides oats and beans, *frumentum purum*, being wheat as distinguished from mealine or wheat mixed with rye, formerly not uncommon in the southern counties.³ There was also a kind of barley called *ordeum palmalis*, probably sprout or sprit barley. In the "Boke of Husbandry," attributed to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, the following passage occurs: "It is to be knowen that ther be thre maner of barleys, that is to say, sprout barleye, long eare, and bere barley, that somme men calle bigge. Sprout barly hath a flat eare most commonly, thre quarters of an inch brode, and thre inches long, and the cornes be very great and white, and it is the best barly."⁴ The breadth of the ear may have caused the name *palmalis* to be assigned to sprout barley. The species in question may, however, have been the *hordeum distichum*, on account of its long broad awns, which gave a certain resemblance to a palm leaf. Parkinson mentions "sprit barley" as a variety, differing only in the small white grain.⁵

As to the word *Foiagia*, we have not found it explained in any glossary. The context shows that in all probability it signified some kind of manure. The old word to Fey or Fie, to cleanse by emptying, as a ditch, a pond, &c., used by Tusser and earlier writers, is mentioned as a provincialism by Ray, Moore, and Forby. The last cites the Icelandic *Fægja*, *purgare*. The old French *vider* had a similar meaning, and *vidanges d'une ville* signified, according to Cotgrave, the laystall of a town. In a lease cited in a former volume of this Journal (vol. v. p. 72), the condition occurs that the tenant should manure certain lands yearly "ove les *fiens* de la faude," the dung or litter of the fold. In that instance *fiens* was explained by the late Mr. T. Hudson Turner as signifying *fiente*, *finus*, *ordure*. (Roquefort.)

In the History of Surrey, by Manning and Bray, vol. ii. p. 255, an abstract is given of a lease of the Manor of Merstham with its member of Charlwood by the Prior and Convent of Canterbury to John atte Dene of Merstham and others. The original is described as a long Roll in the Library at Lambeth, marked 85. The lease is dated 19 Rich. II., 1396. It has been inaccurately read, and in many particulars bears considerable resemblance to that which follows.

CHIROGRAPH BETWEEN THE PRIOR AND CONVENT OF CHRIST CHURCH,
CANTERBURY, AND JOHN ATTE HYERNE, DATED, SEPT. 29, 17 EDW.
II., 1323.

(Cart. Orig. W. 55. Treasury, Canterbury Cathedral.)

Universis pateat per presentes quod in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi xvii., ita convenit inter Priorem et Conventum Ecclesie Christi Cantuariensis tradentes, ex parte una, et Johannem atte Hyerne⁶ de Merstham, ex altera, videlicet, quod

³ See Blunt's Law Dict. v. *Mestilo*; Cotgrave v. *Meteil*, and the Promptorium Parvulorum, v. *Dragge*, and *Mestlyone*.

⁴ Ancient Tracts concerning the management of landed Property reprinted.

London, 1767. Husbandry, p. 14.

⁵ Parkinson's Herbal, p. 1129.

⁶ This example of a surname derived from the position of a dwelling deserves notice. The Anglo-Saxon Hyrn, a corner,

predicti Prior et Conventus dimiserunt et tradiderunt predicto Johanni custodiam manerii ipsorum de Wodetone cum pertinentiis suis, et cum vestura ix. acrarum dimidii unius rode frumenti puri, novem acrarum ordci palmalis, trium acrarum fabarum, et sexaginta duarum acrarum avene, cum stramine et palea existentibus et collectis ad custus predictorum Prioris et Conventus in grangiis ipsorum de Wodetone, et cum feno viginti et octo acrarum prati; tenendum et custodiendum predictum Manerium cum pertinentiis suis et cum blado et feno predictis, sine aliquo compoto inde reddendo, a predicto festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad finem sex annorum proxime sequencium et plenarie completorum, pro xvj. libris sterlingorum eisdem Priori et Conventui annuatim in manerio eorum de Merstham solvendis, videlicet, medietatem pro primo anno ad festum Nativitatis beati Johannis Baptiste proxime sequens post confeccionem presencium, et aliam medietatem in festo Sancti Michaelis proxime sequente; et sic de anno in annum ad eosdem terminos annuatim sexdecim libras, usque ad finem predictorum sex annorum. Et predictus Johannes solvet annuatim custodi de Merstham, qui pro tempore fuerit, sex solidos et octo denarios pro expensis suis apud Wodetone et alibi eundo et redeundo. Et, cum contingat predictum custodem vel aliquem alium monachum ecclesie Christi predictae, seu ballivum vel clericum dicti custodis, ad predictum manerium accedere, dictus Johannes sumptibus suis de feno et littera sufficienter providebit eisdem. Et predictus Johannes habebit omnia proficua que provenient de releviis, herietis, placitis, et perquisitis Curie in causis simplicis querimonie, per totum tempus predictum; salvis tamen predictis Priori et Conventui eschaetis cattallorum fugitivorum et dampnatorum, et similibus proventibus que eveniunt pro effusione sanguinis, et murthero, et omnimodis amerciamentis hominum et tenencium suorum extra Curiam de Wodetone; ac etiam omnibus aliis proficuis provenientibus de summonicione Scaccarii, (et) retornatu brevium seu preceptorum Domini Regis quibuscunque in manerio predicto; salvis eciam eisdem Priori et Conventui omnibus boasis et arboribus existentibus et crescentibus in dominicis terris dicti manerii; videlicet, cccc.xvj. arboribus de quercu crescentibus per fossata circa campum in quo Curia de Wodetone sita est, et in eodem campo juxta pratum; Item, c. arboribus de quercu et xl. arboribus de fraxino crescentibus circa gardinum et in gardino circa Curiam; Item, cxvj. arboribus de quercu et xxx. arboribus de fraxino crescentibus circa Cotland; ⁷ Item, lvij. arboribus de quercu, et iv. arboribus de fraxino, et lxix. arboribus de fago crescentibus (apud ?) gravam ⁸ de Staple. Et predictus Johannes tenetur toto tempore supradicto omnes terras arrabiles dicti manerii congruo modo arrare, seminare, herciare, et sarculare, et omnia waynagia ⁹ dicti manerii in bona et debita seisona conservare; et totum bladum et fenum de terris et pratis predicti manerii provenientibus (*sic*) in orreis predictorum Prioris

angulus, is a word not uncommonly used by old writers, and still retained in certain provincial dialects. See the Promptorium Parvulorum, v. *Hyrne*, and *Halke*. In Norfolk a nook of land projecting into another parish or field is termed a herne.

⁷ Grava, a wood or grove, Sax. *gräf*, Spelman. Between Merstham and Charlwood is a place still called Staplehurst.

Possibly this may have been the grove of Staple.

⁸ "Cotland, *cotsethland*. Land held by a *cotarius*, whether in soccage or villenage." Kennett. There is a place called Cotland, near Hunts Farm, Charlwood.

⁹ Probably tillage. See Ducange, v. *Gagnagium*, *Wagnagium*, &c. M. Paris and Brompton have Wainagium in this sense.

et Conventus ibidem et non alibi collocare. Nec licebit eidem Johanni fimos aut foingia alibi cariare nisi super dominicam terram ejusdem manerii. Omnes eciam domos, sepes, et fossata predicti Manerii idem Johannes sumptibus suis per totum tempus predictum sustentabit in coopertura, clausura, et mundacione competenti. Et omnia dampna et expensas, que predicti Prior et Conventus fecerint (*sic*) vel incurrerint pro defectu cooperture, claustrure, et mundacione (*sic*) domorum, sepium, fossatorum, vel weynagii predicti, idem Johannes, per estimacionem sex legalium virorum per dictum custodem de Merstham et predictum Johannem equaliter electorum, eisdem Priori et Conventui restaurabit. In fine vero predictorum sex annorum predictus Johannes restituet et resignabit predictis Priori et Conventui totum predictum Manerium suum cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, et cum vestura novem acrarum dimidii unius rode de frumento puro, novem acrarum ordeï palmalis, trium acrarum fabarum, sexaginta et duarum acrarum avene, bene seisonat¹ cum stramine et palea, et (cum) feno viginti et octo acrarum prati, prout totum superius est expressum, sumptibus ejusdem Johannis per visum alicujus assignati per dictum custodem, in orreis predictorum Prioris et Conventus bene et fideliter collectis et intractis et in tassis collocatis, prout ea prius recepit. Et predicti Prior et Conventus et successores sui warantizabunt predicto Johanni predictum Manerium cum suis pertinentiis contra omnes gentes per totum tempus predictum, in forma predicta. Ad que omnia et singula supradicta bene et fideliter observanda et tenenda obligat se predictus Johannes, heredes, et executores suos, et omnes terras et tenementa sua, et omnia bona sua mobilia et immobilia, ad quorumcunque manus imposterum devenerint, (ad) districtionem predictorum Prioris et Conventus et cujuscunque ministri domini Regis Anglie qui pro tempore fuerit pro voluntate predictorum Prioris et Conventus eligendi: et ad majorem securitatem omnium premissorum Nos, Robertus atte Wode de Merstham, Willelmus atte Tye, de eadem,¹ Johannes atte Tye de eadem, Robertus Bost de eadem, Johannes atte Tye de eadem, et Henricus atte Tye de eadem, conjunctim et divisim, et quilibet nostrum, insolidum cognoscimus nos teneri per presens scriptum principales debitores, et obligamus nos, et heredes, et executores nostros, terras et tenementa nostra, ad quorumcunque manus imposterum devenerint, ad omnia premissa in presenti scripto contenta facienda, tenenda, et observanda, eodem modo sicut predictus Johannes se et sua, ut predictum est, obligavit. In cujus rei testimonium, Nos, Johannes atte Hyerne, Robertus, Willelmus, Johannes, Robertus, Johannes et Henricus predicti sigilla nostra parti hujus scripti Cyrographati penes predictos Priorem et Conventum remanenti apposuimus, et sigillum dicti Prioris Ecclesie Christi predictæ alteri parti ejusdem scripti penes nos remanenti est appensum. Staurum et utensilia die et anno predictis remanentia in manerio predicto, videlicet, boves decem, precium cujuslibet sexdecim solidi; de quibus bobus vel de precio predictus Johannes in fine predictorum sex annorum predictis Priori et Conventui ad voluntatem eorum respondebit. Item, remanent una tabula cum trestell¹.

¹ A Tye in the Southern and Eastern counties signifies an open waste, a common. See Forby, and Cooper's Sussex Glossary. An extensive green waste in the Parish of Bulmer, Essex, near Sud-

bury, is called Bulmer Tye. The frequent occurrence of it as a termination in names of places in Sussex, as Gravetye, Brambletye, &c., must be familiar to our readers.

Item, una olla enea de duabus lagenis, unus urciolus de dimidia lagena, una patella enea de duabus lagenis, una patella enea de dimidia lagena, una patella ferrea, et unum morterium cum pestello. Item, unum dolium pro cisera,² unum bussellum ferro ligatum, duo costerell', uterque de duobus lagenis, unum ventilatorium ligneum. Item, una caruca cum toto apparatu, unum carrum cum rotis novis, una corda de canabo pro eodem, una furca ferrea pro bladis, unus ligo, una tribula, et una vanga, triginta crates pro ovili, et quinque magne pecie meremii de quercu non scapulate,³ quarum una pecia jacet in camera Aule. De quibus superius contentis predicti Johannes et plegii sui in fine predictorum sex annorum predictis Priori et Conventui respondebunt in forma predicta. Datum apud Merstham, die et anno supradictis.

Seven impressions of Seals are appended : all of dingy coloured green wax. Diameter of each seal about $\frac{3}{4}$ in.

1. A "love seal." Two figures, male and female, looking towards each other.—✠ LOVE ME AND Y THE.

2. A bear standing before a bush.—IE ME VOIS AV BOIS.

3. A hawk preying on a duck.—✠ ALAS IE SV PRIS.

4. A head in profile, one hand raised.—✠ IESVS MERCI.

5. A fox carrying off a goose.—✠ IE VOYS AD OYS.

6. A stag's head cabossed, a cross between the attires : on a chief—
LEL. This seal is in the form of an escutcheon, all the others are round.

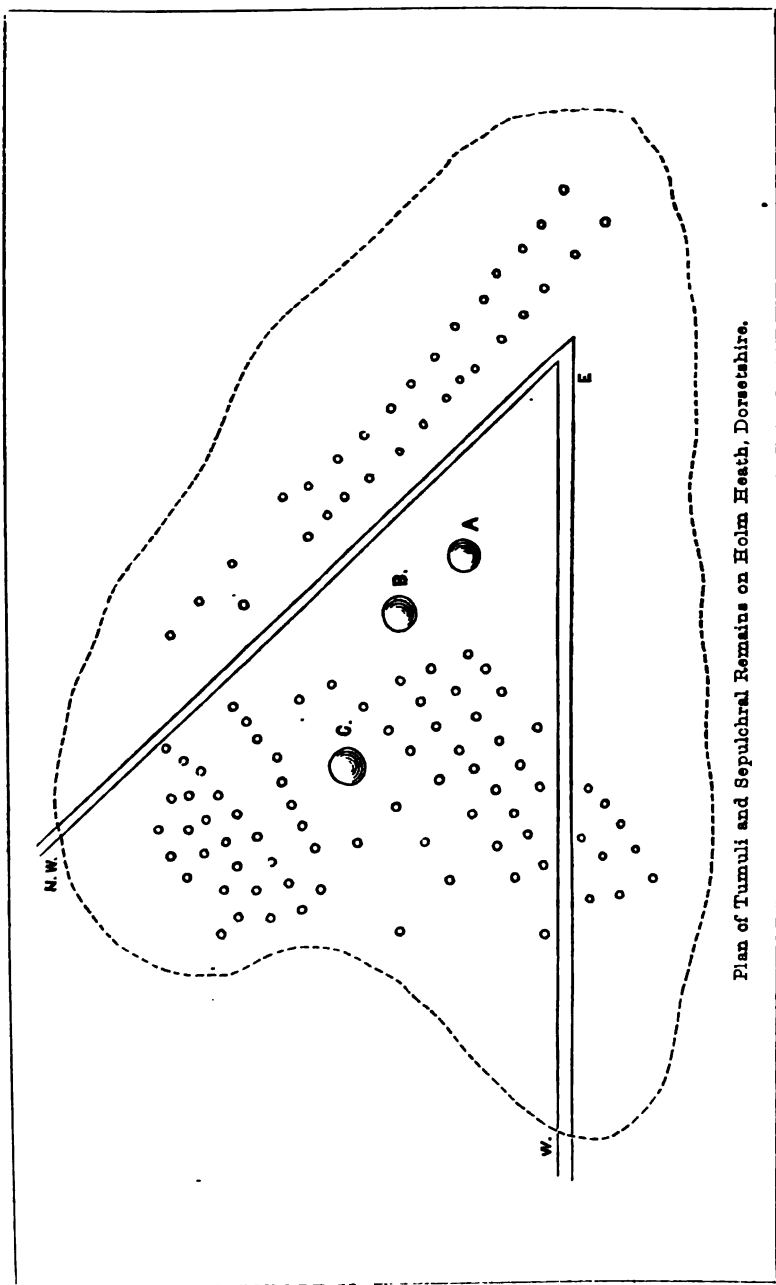
7. A bird, very rude design.—✠ AVE MARIA.

ALBERT WAY.

² Cisera, more commonly written *sisera*, cider.

³ To scapple, in the Craven dialect, signifies rough-dressing stones with the hammer without using the chisel ; hence called hammer-scapple. See Dr. Carr's Glossary, *in v.* Mr. Parker, in the Glossary of Architecture, observes that the term is now used exclusively, or nearly so in reference to stone, but was formerly

applied to timber also, and must have signified the barking of a tree, or more probably squaring it with the axe. In the bailiffs' accounts of the Manor of the Savoy, 16 Rich. II., an entry occurs—"De prostracione et scapulat' et cariagio meremii de bosco de Wildewode," &c. *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv, p. 307. Cotgrave gives *Fr. Chapeler, Chappler, Eschapeler*, to clip, hack, hew, &c.



Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

January 1, 1858.

AMBROSE POYNTER, Esq., in the Chair.

The Rev. JOHN AUSTEN communicated a plan of the discoveries in Dorsetshire, mentioned at the previous meeting :

" In May, 1857, I accompanied the Rev. N. Bond to see some barrows and small mounds which are situated upon his property at the northern extremity of Holm Heath, where a bank divides it from a fir plantation. On examining the ground, it was observed that the trees which had been planted upon any of the mounds, were of much larger size than the generality of those upon the level ground, thus indicating the presence of some kindly soil beneath. I counted as many as 120 mounds systematically arranged in parallel rows, which averaged from three to four paces apart, the mounds also being about that distance from each other, in some they were three paces, in others four; their size was about six feet in diameter, and one foot high. Upon digging into many of them, I found that they all contained the remains of burned furze in the state of charcoal, the stems and thorns being preserved in a carbonised state. A reference to the plan will give a better idea of their position than can be communicated by description. The three rows which commence on the south side of the bank are four paces apart, and run a distance of sixty-six paces direct towards the barrow B, from S.S.W. to N.N.E. Those to the north-west are at greater distances from each other, varying from six to nine paces apart. The two on the north-east, which are at a right angle to the others, are four paces apart. In the easternmost barrow A, I found no remains. The barrow B, situated at nine paces from A, was 5 feet in height and 36 in circumference, with a trench round it, and contained only ashes. At C was a smaller barrow, 21 paces west of the last; this is covered with fir trees. In it I sank a shaft, and at the depth of 3 feet I came upon some small thin sand-stones, such as are found in the neighbourhood. The largest of these covered a cist sunk in the native sand; the cist contained an inverted urn wedged round with flints. It measured about a foot in height, but was much injured by the roots of the trees. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ foot south of this deposit, and 1 foot from the top, I found another smaller urn unprotected, which measured about 6 inches in height, and was of the coarsest manufacture. These tumuli occupy a space of about 300 yards in diameter, which may be denominated a plateau, being the flat top of an irregularly shaped knoll. What could have been the intention of those who raised them is a question to which there appears but one answer, namely, that they are the memorials of one funeral ceremony. The barrow C was the sepulchral mound, B and A perhaps funeral piles, and the lesser mounds, stretching away towards the south-east and south-west were possibly fires placed with care at

regular intervals agreeably to the usage of some funeral rite: the ashes, when the flames had died away, or been quenched in some manner, were covered with earth to become a record to future ages of the solemn ceremonies which had been enacted there. I think this conclusion a fair one, although I can refer to no evidence of similar remains to corroborate it. Sir R. C. Hoare, however, in describing the 'twin barrows,' figured in his *Ancient Wilts*, concludes that one contained the sepulchral deposit and the other only the ashes of the funeral pile."

Mr. ALBERT WAY communicated a notice of a discovery of Roman remains, near Chichester. A detailed account has subsequently been given by the Rev. H. Smith (*Sussex Arch. Coll.* vol. x. p. 168).

"The members of our society who attended the meeting in the year 1853 at Chichester, will not fail to remember two remarkable sepulchral cists of stone, which, with the curious objects of glass and pottery discovered in them, were sent for our examination in the temporary Museum. The contents of one of those cists, found in 1850, at Westergate, near Chichester, on the property of Mr. Thomas Shiffner, was afterwards presented by that gentleman to the British Museum, and it has been described by Mr. Franks in our *Journal* (vol. xi., p. 25). In that instance, a pair of enamelled fibulæ and a metallic mirror accompanied the remains, which may have been of a female. The other tomb had been discovered in 1817 at Avisford, about 8 miles east of Chichester, and at the close of our meeting it was presented by Lady Elizabeth Reynell to the Museum of the Chichester Philosophical Society. These Roman tombs are of a type which seems almost peculiar to the southern parts of the country. The deposit had been enclosed in a large rectangular chest, about 3 feet in length by 2 feet in breadth, and 2 feet in height; a massive slab served as a cover; vessels of glass and fictile wares were arranged within, in considerable number, the Avisford cist having contained upwards of forty vessels of various forms. The burnt bones had been placed in large vases of glass; and the smaller objects, consisting of cups, saucers, jugs, &c., had doubtless served for some funeral feast. It was remarkable that the remains of leathern shoes were found in both these curious cists; and in that sent to our museum by Lady Elizabeth Reynell, there was a small bracket or projecting shelf in each corner of the cavity, near the upper part, shaped with care in chiselling out the block of stone to form the cist, and on these brackets were found placed small open lamps of earthenware, as if to light up the miniature funereal chamber.

"It was doubtless owing to the facility with which blocks of stone of ample size could be obtained in the locality, from the lower green-sand beds near Petworth, that these sepulchral cists were in fashion amongst the Roman colonists settled around the city of *Regnum*. Some other examples of a similar mode of interment, although comparatively uncommon in this country, have occurred; for instance, at Southfleet,¹ in Kent, and the tomb at Binstead, Hants, now preserved in the British Museum, which has been described by Mr. Franks in our *Journal* (vol. ix., p. 12). In other localities where stone was not to be obtained, the small sepulchral chamber was formed of other materials, in some instances of wood, as also of brick, of which a remarkable example was found at Rougham, in Suffolk. In most of these deposits, the urns, the vases of glass, and other vestiges of Roman

¹ See *Archæologia*, vol. xiv. p. 221.

funeral customs, occur of the same description as those brought to light in Sussex.

"During the month of December last, fresh examples of the sarcophagus of stone, similar in character to those already noticed, have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Chichester, at Densworth Farm, Funtington, about 3 miles N.W. of that city. Although these remains may not add any material facts to the knowledge already procured of the sepulchral usages of the Romans, these successive discoveries within a range of a few miles around the city of *Regnum* are not without interest, as having occurred on sites distant from each other, not immediately adjacent to the city, but probably where the villas of Roman settlers had been peaceably established, at no great distance from the great line of Roman road towards London, which passed near Bignor and is known as the Stone Street. The indications thus presented to us of numerous rural habitations and settlements in Roman times in the district so near the coast, may claim our notice as evidence of the quiet occupation of that part of Britain by colonists of a superior class. I have been indebted to our friend Mr. James Smith, of Chichester, who rendered us frequent and friendly assistance during our meeting, for some particulars regarding the recent discoveries at Densworth, which he has carefully inspected. The first occurred on December 8, in precisely the same manner as at Avisford, namely, in pitching hurdles for sheep in arable land. The crowbar struck upon something which hindered the operation, and this led to the cist being uncovered. It is remarkable that these interments should have been found at so slight a depth beneath the surface. The stone tomb brought to light on that occasion is precisely similar to those which have been described, and like them it was formed of a solid block of the lower green-sand formation, probably from the Fittleworth quarries. On the lid being removed a large globular-shaped bottle of very thin green glass, 12 inches in height, with two handles, was found, containing the burned bones. A glass stopper several inches in length was inserted in the neck of this vase, which is described as of very graceful form and proportions. Near it stood two square vases of green glass with the peculiar angular reeded handles often noticed in specimens of this description. These bottles were about 6 inches high, and one contained a liquid, which gave forth an aromatic odour when exposed to heat. There were also certain vessels of pottery, and other objects. The position of the cist was north and south; its dimensions are 38 inches by 24, height 17 inches; there is a bracket in one of the angles, precisely as in the cist found at Avisford. The lid was hollowed out, and formed of a slab 13 inches thick, three sides being much bevelled off. Numerous fragments of tiles and *débris* of Roman times lay around; on one piece, Mr. Smith informs me that he noticed the letter N boldly formed, a large letter nearly 2 inches in height. Subsequent researches have brought to light a second cist, and it is satisfactory to have the assurance that every care will be taken of these remains, which it may be hoped will be deposited in the interesting museum of local antiquities at Chichester. It deserves notice that an embankment of considerable strength runs near the spot, and it is situated at no great distance from the remarkable entrenched works on the north of Chichester, which run far and wide in the locality known as the Broil, and present traces of early occupation well deserving of careful investigation."

The Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER exhibited a large series of antiquities, discovered at Dunwich in Suffolk, accompanied by the following notice :—

"It is now more than a hundred years since Thomas Gardner published his 'Historical account of Dunwich, Antiently a City, now a Borough.' Therein, 'wishing to preserve the fame of that renowned city, now almost swallowed up by the sea, from sinking into oblivion,' Gardner has given an interesting account of the ancient remains which existed in his time. Since, however, his account was written, Dunwich has been steadily declining in importance. The quondam 'city' and 'borough' has now degenerated into a small country village of some three hundred inhabitants. The free-men can no longer send their representatives to Parliament, and the last of the ancient churches which existed in Gardner's time, and in which divine service was still celebrated once a fortnight, is now a roofless and mouldering ruin upon the verge of the cliff. The churchyard of this Church of All Saints has already been partially washed away, and in a few years the church itself will follow.

"With regard to Dunwich, it may be remarked that its position seems to be admirably described by its compound name of Celtic, or perhaps rather Germanic and Scandinavian derivation—Dun-wich—the hill by the *wic*, (Dan. *vig*), a curving bay, *sinus*, if indeed *wic* does not here indicate a morass. In the present case, a glance at the Ordnance Map would be likely to mislead the stranger as to the natural features of the place, which appears therein to be situated upon anything rather than a naze or promontory. Yet such in fact is the case. While the North Sea has for centuries been encroaching upon the cliffs of Minsmere and Dunwich, what was anciently an arm² of the sea to the south has, among other causes, by the silting up of the channel, become the rich expanse of Minsmere Level; and to the north, what was formerly part of Dunwich Haven, has become a pasture ground for cattle. At present, therefore, Dunwich stands on the side of a sandy and elevated promontory stretching out, not as formerly into but towards the sea, and situated between level expanses of salt marshes. The tradition noticed by Sir Charles Lyell,³ "that the tailors sate in their shops at Dunwich, and saw the ships in Yarmouth Bay," goes to prove that Dunwich formerly extended far out into the ocean. But for centuries, as Gardner has shown, the promontory of Dunwich has been exposed to the ravages of the North Sea, which indeed has swallowed up a great part of the parish. These ravages still continue, but are by no means regular in extent. It is when a particular conjunction of winds and tides takes place that most damage is done. Then the beach of sand and shingle which the waves throw up against themselves at the base of the cliffs, is carried off to the depth of several feet, and swept far out to sea, and the rising tide rushing in with resistless violence undermines the soft and crumbling cliffs of sand and clay. Such an occurrence took place last winter, when a remarkably high tide carried away vast portions of the cliffs, and converted the heretofore sloping and verdure-clad sides into steep and overhanging precipices. The beach at the same time was scoured away to an unusual depth. It was after this tide that, at low water, the clay forming the substratum of the strand was found to be strewn with coins and other objects of ancient use. Of these, many were collected by

² Called "Portus de Menes More" in an Inquisition taken ann. xxi. Hen. III.

³ Principles of Geology, p. 298.

fishermen and boys, but numbers of relics were thrown away, or left to be a second time engulfed and covered up at the return of the tide.

"At a visit to Dunwich in the month of June last, I found two human skeletons protruding from the face of the cliff in the churchyard of All Saints, and the remains of two others lay upon the beach below. In various places in the face of the cliff, generally within five feet of the top, I observed numerous pieces of coarse blue, black, and brown pottery, some of which were manifestly of Roman manufacture, while other fragments were perhaps Saxon. Of one variety I found fragments lying together almost enough to form an entire urn. Animals' bones, with teeth of the ox, sheep, and deer, were also numerous. In one place I discovered a rounded seam of black earth, full of bones, ashes, charred wood, cockle, oyster, and whelk shells, with broken fragments of Roman pottery. This, apparently, was an ancient rubbish pit, which, although exposed to view by the fall of the cliff, had originally been situated far inland. I saw an imperfect small brass Roman coin of the lower empire, which was picked up near this spot. Of the coins found at Dunwich I have specimens of the following reigns, Hen. II., Hen. III., Ed. I. and II., Ed. III., Hen. IV. V. or VI., and Hen. VIII.; also some early Scotch coins, and one of Charles Count of Anjou. In addition to these, I have several curious and early tokens, of which one bearing a rude shield is of brass, and the rest are of lead. Many of the coins of Hen. II. and Hen. III. are cut into halves and quarters to form pennies and halfpennies. This is likewise the case with some of the Scotch coins. The other relics which I have obtained from Dunwich in silver, copper, brass, and lead, and consisting of fibulae, buckles, rings, pins, and other personal ornaments, testify to the long occupation of the locality in Roman, Saxon, and Mediæval times."

Mr. CHESTER forwarded a large collection of these articles for the inspection of the Institute. Among the keys, which are chiefly of bronze, may be noticed a great variety of types, some of them apparently Roman. One of the most singular is the bronze key represented in the accompanying woodcut. It has evidently belonged to a padlock, made on the principle still in use among the Chinese, of compressing springs attached to the inside of the lock, and thus liberating the pin. The personal ornaments are very numerous. The buckles are no less than forty in number, and nearly all of them differ in size and design. Of the brooches, one is of silver and the rest of bronze; they include a small Roman fibula of the bowed type, and several elegant ring brooches of Mediæval work, one of which is represented in the accompanying woodcut. The raised knobs with which one portion is ornamented, were no doubt originally filled with glass pastes. The various ornaments formed of thin metal stamped in relief, have been probably attached to



Bronze Key,
Dunwich.
Full size.



Bronze Brooch, Dunwich.
Full size.

leather belts. The brass tags, or ornamented terminations of girdles, occur not unfrequently.

Among the objects of a miscellaneous character should be noticed a little shield of the arms of England, with a loop for suspension. Being only one inch long it seems too small for horse trappings, and may have been attached to some piece of ornamental furniture of the fourteenth century. Not the least interesting object is the leaden pouch here represented. It is one of the 'Pilgrims' Pouches,' *ampullæ*, or badges of lead distributed to pilgrims as a token of their having visited certain shrines. They are noticed by Mr. J. Gough Nichols in his researches on pilgrimages. On one side is represented an escallop shell; on the other, a branch, possibly a lily, and the letter R. Four relics of this description are engraved in Gardner's *Dunwich*, one of them similar to that represented here; another with a crowned W, of the same type as that found at Cirencester, and engraved in this Journal (vol. vii. p. 400),



and a third bore the letter T.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By His Grace the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND, K.G.—The blade of an iron sword, on the upper part of which is still remaining a portion of its bronze sheath; the latter presents a most brilliant surface, and is covered with scroll patterns of a Celtic character similar to those on the bronze bosses of shields found in the Thames, and which are now in the National Collection. The length of the blade is 2 ft. 1 in. It was found in the River Witham, and was exhibited by its former owner, Mr. E. Willson, of Lincoln, at the annual meeting of the Institute held in that city. A flat cake of bronze, heater-shaped and perfectly plain, except towards the broader end, on which is engraved an ornament in the Celtic style very similar to those on the antiquities discovered at Stanwick, and presented by His Grace to the British Museum. It was found between Eglingham and Hulne Abbey, in Northumberland, and is represented in the accompanying engraving.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—Three stone celts, one of them of peculiar form, stated to have been found about the year 1800 in forming an artificial lake at Milton House, Cambridgeshire. A very large tobacco pipe stamped with the gauntlet mark; the upper part of the bowl is ornamented with milling. It was found, with another of smaller size similarly stamped, in some excavations at Cirencester.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER. An original deed, apparently of the thirteenth century, being a grant by Adam son of Edusa de le Rodes, to Henry de Schelvelay and Margaret his wife, and their joint heirs, of the homage and service of Nicholas le Turnur and his heirs, and a penny a year rent, which the same Nicholas paid for a tenement held of the said Adam within the bounds (*divisas*) of Schelvelay; also a piece of ground which the said Henry enclosed with a ditch, together with that piece which is called the Wallekern ext. le Rodes, within the bounds of Schellay, together



Flat Cake of Bronze, bearing an Ornament of Celtic character. Found near Alnwick, Northumberland.

Orig. size. Weight, 14 oz.

**PRESERVED IN THE MUSEUM OF HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND
AT ALNWICK CASTLE.**

with right of way to the same. Witnessed by Master Robert de Barneby, Rector of Byrton, Elias de Byrton, Adam de Helay, John de Rylay, Richard de Thorniclay, Hugh of the same place, Robert de Horbury, clerk, and others. The seal is of green wax, of a pointed oval form. The design in the centre is a fleur-de-lis, and the legend, which is not well preserved, appears to be S. ADE : LE : RODE.—Schelvelay is no doubt Shelley, a village in the parish of Burton or Kirkburton, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire. Riley and Horbury are in the same neighbourhood. The name of Robert de Barneby does not appear in the lists of the rectors of Kirkburton, as printed in Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmetis*, which does not extend to an earlier date than 1357. In the neighbouring parish of Kirkheaton we find a Thomas de Barneby, rector, from 1320 to 1380, who may possibly have been a connection of the Rector of Burton.

By Mr. EDWARD RICHARDSON.—A collection of rubbings from incised sepulchral slabs existing in the cathedral church of St. Canice, at Kilkenny. The memorials of that nature most deserving of notice, as also several very curious effigies and tombs, have been represented in the "History, Architecture, and Antiquities" of Kilkenny Cathedral, by the Rev. James Graves, and Mr. J. G. Prim, recently published. "Near the North door (Mr. Richardson observed) there is an arched recess, of early English date, without an effigy; in the nave there is an effigy of a bishop of the same date, sculptured in black Kilkenny marble. On the same side are effigies of remarkable character, one of them assigned to one of the Earls of Ormonde, the other is the memorial of James Schorthals, who died in 1507. There is also a demi-effigy on the floor. On the south side are several altar tombs, with effigies, and one of these, representing Sir John Grace, bears the name of the sculptor—'Roricus Otwnne fabricavit istam tumbam.' There are also nine altar tombs with incised crosses. In the south transept are to be seen effigies of the Butler family, of black marble. The Cathedral presents some very beautiful architectural features: the doorways are good examples of the Early English period. The choir is disfigured by modern plastering and woodwork, and the stone work of the nave has unfortunately been tooled over in the course of *restorations*; the original surfaces of the fine sculptured capitals and other details has thus been destroyed. I found also that many of the curious incised slabs had been damaged in mixing mortar upon them, and by the workmen's tools. I cleared the lines as far as possible, so as to produce the rubbings exhibited on the present occasion."

February 5, 1858.

OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A LETTER was read from Mr. Albert Way, dated at Aix en Provence, addressed to the Resident Secretary, giving an account of matters of archaeological interest which he had met with in the old land of the Troubadours.

"I have to announce with regret that one of our most eminent foreign correspondents, Monsieur Comarmond, an antiquary of the greatest attainments, with whom I had hoped to hold instructive communication at Lyons, had died just before I reached that place. His loss will be much felt, especially as the great collections of Roman Antiquities bequeathed to the

city of Lyons a few years since, and which I found still unarranged, will not be united with the valuable museum previously formed by M. Comarmond, in the scientific system in which he would have combined this highly valuable assemblage of local antiquities. Shortly before my arrival at Lyons, recent excavations for building have brought to light the complete outline of the Theatre of the Roman Lugdunum, the position of which had been wholly unknown. These remains are in themselves of considerable interest, and especially as showing the general introduction of scenic amusements by the Romans in Gaul, of which we have striking evidence at Orange, at Nismes, Arles, and several other colonial cities in the South of France. I may here observe with gratification that the most vigilant precautions and care are taken by the French Government for the preservation of these relics of old times, and it were much to be desired that their interest was equally esteemed in our own country. The Theatre at Orange, which I recently passed, was until the last few years built up in a mass of modern dwellings of the lowest class, and almost wholly concealed from view amidst about sixty irregularly built habitations, in which that striking example of Roman construction was most unworthily disguised. These intruders have been removed, and this important relic is now, under the auspices of the Empire, which are universally most advantageous as regards the conservation of National Monuments in France, to be examined with every facility. I regret that my hurried visit to Aix has not given me opportunity to send you a detailed description for the Institute of the remarkable Tapestries preserved in the Cathedral there, and annually displayed at Easter to decorate the choir. They are very interesting to the English antiquary, as having been part of the sacred furniture of Canterbury Cathedral, and bearing the arms of the donor to that church. I am unable to state by what means these Tapestries came to Aix after the Reformation—they are I know of great beauty, and are preserved with the greatest care. I believe that faithful representations have been published in France by M. Jubinal. The Cathedral of Aix presents many other features of interest, more especially in its baptistery, with columns of beautiful proportion, believed to be from the temple of Diana, in the Roman colony of *Aquæ Sextii*. This multangular baptistery is an object of no ordinary interest; I may also mention the sculptured cedar doors of the Cathedral, which might supply to Mr. Nesbitt a subject scarcely less attractive in regard to ancient church decorations of this class, of wood, than that which he gave us in our Journal on the Bronze Doors in various European countries. The most curious and attractive object to the architectural antiquary, however, at Aix, is the Cloister Court, and an arcade of slender double columns, presenting a very great variety of design, capitals of beautiful foliage, with figures and remarkable ornamental details. Numerous sculptured fragments, inscriptions and relics of interest are here preserved. I may observe, that in France every National Monument, however damaged or defaced, is now duly preserved."

The Rev. JOHN MAUGHAN, Rector of Bewcastle, communicated rubbings from six Roman inscriptions preserved within the ruins of Lanercost priory, Cumberland, which are as follows:

1. An altar dedicated to Jupiter by the first cohort of Dacians, surnamed the *Ælian*, commanded by Julius Saturninus, a tribune. This stone was first described by Mr. Smith, in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1744, p. 369, where a woodcut of it is given. It is also published in Lysons'

Cumberland, No. 13. After Mr. Smith's time the position of the inscription appears to have been forgotten, but Mr. Maughan had been fortunate enough to re-discover it. The altar appears to have been made use of by the builders of the priory as a building stone, and it is placed in the clerestory which runs round the upper part of the edifice, forming a head stone or cover for the arch between a pillar and the main wall. The mediæval builders have rounded off the side of the stone, which has destroyed the termination of some of the lines, but it is otherwise in good preservation. It was probably brought from Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*), where the Dacians are placed in the Notitia.

I O O M
CHO I AEL
DAC CVI PR
EST IVLIV
SATVRNIN
TRIBVN

2. An altar, which is preserved in the crypt, and was dedicated to the God Silvanus, by the huntsmen of Banna. The altar was found at Birdoswald, and the inscription is published in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, part ii., vol. iii., p. 209, as well as by Dr. Bruce, in his *Roman Wall*, p. 395, who reads the letters s s. as *Sacraverunt*. Mr. Maughan suggests *Susceptum*

DEO SANCTO
SILVANO VE
NATORES
BANNE S S.

(*votum*) *solvunt*. The same formula occurs elsewhere. The name of Banna does not appear in the *Iter* of Antoninus, or in the *Notitia*. The chorographer of Ravenna, however, has preserved it, and it occurs in connection with four other Roman localities on the cup found at Rudge, in Wiltshire, as described in this *Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 283; it may possibly not have been a strictly military station. Mr. Maughan is disposed to consider that the name may be derived from the British word *Banau*, signifying elevated places.

3. An altar preserved in the crypt, and dedicated to the God Cocidius, probably a topical form of Mars, by the soldiers of the Twentieth Legion in the consulship of Aper and Rufus. This inscription is given in Lysons' *Cumberland*, No. 50, and has been engraved in Dr. Bruce's *Roman Wall*. In the latter, however, the vv following the number of the Legion are represented by xx, the artist having probably been misled by the arm of one of the v crossing the other; the letters v.v. have been read by the old archaeologists as *Valens Victrix*, owing probably to an inscription at Parma given by Gruter, cccxcij., 5, where the legion is called VALEN VICTR., and Orellius has continued the error, although he refers to an inscription in Spon's *Miscellanea*, p. 195, where the title is VALERIA F. VICTRIX. There can be no doubt, as Mr. Maughan remarks, that the proper title is *Valeria Victrix*, a title which not only occurs in the form of *Valeriana* on an inscription at Bath, but is confirmed by Dion Cassius, lib. lv. 23. οἱ ἐκκορτοὶ οἱ καὶ Οὐαλέρειοι καὶ Νικήτορες ἀνομασμένοι. Aper and Rufus were probably *consules suffecti*, as their names do not occur together in the ordinary lists.

DEO
COCIDIO
MILITES
LEG XX VV
V S L M
APR ET RVF COS.

4. An altar in the crypt, broken in two, dedicated to the same God Cocidius by the soldiers of the Second Legion. It is published in Lysons' *Cumberland*, No. 49.

DEO
COCIDIO
MILITES
LEG II AVG
V S L M.

5. A centurial stone, recently found by Mr. Maughan in the east VOL. XV.

A A

wall of the crypt, about two feet from the ground, near the south-east corner. It evidently marks work executed by a century of the Tenth Cohort.

C COH X
P F

6. Another centurial stone, which is in the wall of the east side of the refectory, facing the clergyman's garden. Horsley, and Lysons in his Cumberland, both mention an inscription found at Birdoswald to a similar purport, but followed by the letters COH VI. There are two other centurial stones on record, in which the cognomen Priscus occurs, but with different prenomens.

P CASSI
PRIS
CI

Mr. AUGUSTUS FRANKS made some observations on a class of ancient personal ornaments, occasionally to be met with in the British Islands, but which appear to be extremely rare, viz., glass armlets. The use of Kimmeridge coal and jet for such purposes is well known, and the so-called coal money is supposed to have been produced in making them. The employment of glass for similar purposes is less common, its fragile nature rendering it eminently unfit for such ornaments. We find, however, that in India the women still wear bangles and armlets of this brittle material; its use for such purpose must have prevailed for some time in that country, as fragments of such objects were discovered by Mr. A. Bellasis on the site of Brahminabad in Scinde, a city which is supposed to have been destroyed in early times. They form part of the collection of antiquities presented by Mr. Bellasis to the British Museum. Mr. Franks described also an armlet of greenish glass, of which a portion is broken. It is $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. diam. and $\frac{3}{4}$ in. broad. The glass is of a transparent greenish white, and the external surface is obliquely ribbed. It was found encircling the bone of the arm of the skeleton of a female discovered on the western slope of Malling Hill, near Lewes. Numerous skeletons, accompanied by iron spear-heads, swords, buckles, &c., were found about the same spot, and appear to be of Saxon origin. This curious relic was formerly in Dr. Mantell's collection, with which it passed to the British Museum.

A fragment of an armlet of bluish glass was discovered by Mr. FARRER in the Dowberbottom caves, near Arncliffe, Yorkshire, in company with various remains of a Romano-British character, not unlike those found at Settle in the same county, an account of which will be found in Mr. Roach Smith's Collectanea.

Two perfect armlets of glass have been recently acquired by the British Museum at the sale of the collection of Mr. James Carruthers of Belfast. They were found near Donaghadee, co. Down, and the facts stated by Mr. Carruthers regarding the discovery have been given in this Journal, vol. xiii. p. 407. One of these armlets is of a deep transparent blue glass, described by Mr. Carruthers as purple; the other is of an opaque glass, (probably a deep purple colour, produced by manganese) which had been considered to be Kimmeridge shale, to which it bears considerable resemblance. It is however undoubtedly of glass, and similar to the other in fashion and dimensions. It is to be regretted that the account above cited does not state whether burnt bones were discovered, as the black earth in which the relics were found might proceed from the decomposition of vegetable matter. The chief evidence for the Roman origin of these remains, to which allusion is made by Mr. Carruthers, seems to rest on a coin, which may have been a circular ornament only, and the bow-shaped fibula; that form, however, occurs occasionally in Ireland, and was also most

probably continued in some measure by the Saxons. The glass beads seem to have resembled others found in the north of Ireland, all peculiarly beautiful and elaborately made, the Irish origin of which seems to be unquestioned, as they differ entirely from the beads of the Roman period.

In the collection of Mr. Felix Slade there is a glass armlet of a rich deep blue colour, penannular, and terminating in elegant gold ornaments.

Mr. I. H. MATHEWS exhibited two Serjeants' Rings, supposed to be of the XVIIth century. They were plain bands of gold, more than rather $\frac{1}{2}$ of an inch in breadth, sunk a little in the middle all round, and in the hollow so formed were mottoes inscribed with a point. One of the rings had for its motto *Ex æquo et bono*; the other a verse from Horace, *Imperio regit unus æquo*.¹ The only stamps on them were D H on the former, and M C on the latter, probably the initials of the respective makers' names.



Serjeant's Ring.
Weight 26 grs.

Mr. W. S. WALFORD, who called the attention of the Meeting to these rings, has, in compliance with a wish then expressed, extended the observations that he made on the subject into the following communication:—

“It is remarkable that serjeants' rings should be so comparatively rare, since, for upwards of 400 years past, a considerable number have been distributed among divers classes of persons on almost every creation of serjeants-at-law. Few examples of them, it is believed, are to be found in any collections. Until a few years ago, upwards of a dozen had been preserved in Mr. Mathews's family, but they have been dispersed, and those exhibited are all that are known to remain of them.

“The practice of serjeants giving rings on their taking the coif is mentioned by Sir John Fortescue, as if it were in 1429 a time-honoured custom; yet it has not been traced distinctly further back, though the degree of serjeant-at-law has existed at least from the middle of the XIIIth century. Fortescue's account of the usage is the more interesting and trustworthy, as he was himself created a serjeant and gave rings in the year just mentioned. He was afterwards (1442) chief justice of the King's Bench; but, having attached himself to the House of Lancaster, he shared their fortunes. Though appointed Lord Chancellor by Henry VI., he never acted judicially, the government having been at that time in the hands of Edward IV. In 1461 he was attainted by act of Parliament. In 1463 he retired into Flanders with Queen Margaret, and there, or in France, wrote his work ‘*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*,’ in which (cap. 50) he has treated of the dignity of the degree of serjeant-at-law. It there appears that in his time, when this degree was to be conferred, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, with the consent of the other justices, nominated seven or eight of the most experienced professors of the common law for the purpose, and thereupon a writ was issued by the Lord Chancellor to each of them, requiring, under a heavy penalty, that he should appear on a certain day and take on him the state and degree of a serjeant-at-law. On which day they appeared, and each of them was sworn that he would be ready at the day and place then appointed to accept such state and degree, and would give gold according to the custom of the realm in such cases (‘*dabit*

¹ Lib. iii. Od. iv.

aurum secundum consuetudinem regni in hoc casu usitatam'). On the last-mentioned day commenced a feast for seven days and other ceremonies, which together cost each of them no less than 1600 nobles (*scutorum*), i.e. 400 marcs. Part of this expense was occasioned by his giving rings of gold to the value of 40*l.* at the least. Fortescue speaks of his well recollecting that when he was called to this degree he paid 50*l.* for rings which he gave away. They were of different values, and at that time presented to the following persons, viz., one of 26*s.* 8*d.* value (the most costly kind) to every prince, duke, and archbishop that attended the ceremony, and to the lord chancellor and the treasurer of England; one of 20*s.* value to every earl and bishop present, and also to the keeper of the privy seal, and to each of the chief justices, and to the chief baron of the Exchequer; one of 13*s.* 4*d.* value to every baron of Parliament, and to every abbot, distinguished prelate (*notabili prelato*), and eminent knight (*magno militi*) then present, and also to the keeper of the rolls of the King's Chancery, and to each of the justices; and in like manner rings of less value, according to their several grades, to every baron of the Exchequer, chamberlain, and officer and principal person attending (*ministrantibus*) in the king's courts; so that there was hardly a clerk, especially of the Common Pleas, however humble his station, that did not receive one suitable to his position. Rings were also given by the new serjeants to divers of their friends. In later times the receivers of the rings varied, but do not appear to have materially (if at all) diminished in number; they comprised persons of almost all grades, including the sovereign himself, as may be seen on reference to Dugdale's '*Origines Juridiciales*,' pp. 124-5, 130, where many curious particulars may also be found of the ceremonies that took place on such occasions. The expense had most likely been somewhat lessened, as serjeants were then often called in fewer numbers, and even, as in recent times, a single one was not unfrequently created. The feast of seven days' duration had in all probability been much curtailed. In 1736, as appears in Mr. Serjeant Wynne's '*Observations touching the Antiquity and Dignity of the Degree of Serjeant-at-Law*,' privately printed in 1765, on a call of fourteen serjeants, the number of rings amounted to 1409, and they cost 773*l.*; which is a trifle more than 55*l.* for each serjeant; only 5*l.* more than what Sir John Fortescue paid for rings in 1429. The expense of a serjeant's call at that time is a startling fact, when we recollect the relative value of money, and also the general rate of expenditure and cost of living. According to the usual estimate in such cases, 400 marcs in 1429 would be equal to an expenditure of near 2660*l.* at present. Either that must be too high, or the income of a serjeant in good practice was much greater than is generally supposed. It cannot be a matter of surprise that some lawyers, who were not in a condition, or not of a disposition to be so profuse, wished to escape the proffered dignity. We read of six grave and famous apprentices in the law, t. Henry V., having declined the elevation; for which they were called before the Parliament, and there charged to take on them the state and degree of a serjeant; this they eventually did, and some of them, Sir E. Coke says, afterwards worthily served the king in the principal offices of the law.²

"The distribution of such rings may perhaps be accounted for by the custom requiring the serjeants to give gold. They were probably regarded

² Rol. Parl. iv. p. 107; 2 Inst. 214.

as mere pieces of gold, and no particular interest being attached to them, they may have been sold to the goldsmiths as such, and dealt with accordingly, and hence so few have been preserved. The only ornamented ring I know, that has any pretence to be considered a serjeant's ring, is one in the British Museum, which has the words *Vivat Rex et Lex* and some floral ornament enameled upon it, and would seem to be of the XVth century. This presumed date raises a difficulty in the way of concluding that it is such a ring, though the legend is so much like a serjeant's motto. All others that have come to my knowledge are, like those exhibited, without any besil, gem, enamel, or other ornamental addition, and the mottoes are written carelessly with a point; except that we learn from an account of a call of serjeants in 9 Geo. II. (1736), contained in Wynne's 'Observations,' that the rings given to the king and queen, the prince and princess of Wales, the duke of Cumberland, and the four princesses, had the mottoes enameled on them: whether this were an exceptional case, or there had been a practice of ornamenting the rings given to the sovereign and members of the royal family, I have not been able to ascertain. The rings distributed varied in thickness according to their value, and the shape of them was favourable to this without making the difference apparent; for the moulded form of the slip of gold, that was made up into such rings, gave it rigidity; so that a thin one would seem thicker than it really was. They must have been required in great numbers at very little notice; and the easy course was to mould a slip of gold, and then cut it into suitable lengths, and make them up into rings. The only stamps that have been noticed on any of them, have been, as in the case of those exhibited, two letters, the initials we may presume of the maker. We have in Dugdale's 'Origines Juridicales,' p. 130, some particulars of the agreement for making the rings for the call of seven serjeants in 2 & 3 Philip and Mary, 1555.—'These serjeants made choice of one Nicholas Deering, goldsmith, to make their rings of gold, who was allowed for the fashion of those rings, which were given to the king and queen; viz., for each ring, *xxd.*, and for the fashion of every other ring, *xiid.* It was also agreed, that all the rings of *xs.* in gold, and above, should be made with swaies; and all under that value, their fashion to be plain. Likewise that every ring of gold of *xxs.* value should contain in gold weight 18*s.*, two shillings being allowed for the fashion of every such ring. And that every ring of *xvis.* in gold to weigh 14*s.*, and two shillings to be allowed for the fashion. Likewise that every ring of *vis. viiid.* in gold, to bear his own making. And every ring of *vs. iiiid.* in gold, to have allowed 6*d.* for fashion, and no more. And every ring of 4*s.* in gold, to bear his full weight in gold, besides the fashion. And lastly, that all the said several gold rings should be of one value, and contain one weight *secundum ratum* as afore; and that every ring do contain one value, without diminution, in form severally before agreed on.' There is added:—'Note, that each serjeant disbursed and delivered to the goldsmith, towards the provision of rings, viz., in half sovereigns, the weightiest that could be gotten, *xxl.* The rings given to the king and queen were made of the finest angel gold, every ring being in value, besides fashion, *iiil. vis. viiid.*'

"These particulars Dugdale derived from a MS. in the possession of Ashmole: as there is some obscurity in the passage, it was thought best to give it fully. The word 'swaies' in the sense there used has not been found elsewhere: it probably mean teither borders or mouldings of some

kind. Nothing, it will be observed, is said of any motto; and as some of the rings were to be plain, without swaies, probably there was no motto. There follow the names of the official persons who received ordinary rings, at the head of whom is the Lord Chancellor; and every serjeant's charge in ordinary rings is 20*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*; ³ which makes, with the 20*l.* delivered in gold to the goldsmith, 40*l.* 4*s.* 0*d.*

"The earliest rings of this kind probably had no mottoes, and if so, this addition to them is likely to have come into use gradually, some serjeants giving them with a motto and others without. Occasionally in the law reports of the XVIIth century, when creations of serjeants are mentioned, rings are stated to have been given, and nothing said of a motto; but no reliance can be placed on such silence, as ground for inferring that there was none, because a call of serjeants is sometimes recorded, and nothing said of rings. The earliest motto that I have met with, unless the enameled ring in the British Museum be an exception, was on rings given in the 19 & 20 Elizabeth. It was *Lex Regis præsidium*.⁴ A serjeant's ring with that motto, and not improbably of the same date, was found at Wimbish, Essex, in 1847, and was exhibited by the present Lord Braybrooke at a meeting of the Institute in May, 1850 (see vol. vii. p. 196 of this Journal). It is still in his lordship's collection of rings. It is remarkable that in a subsequent term in 20 Elizabeth, two other serjeants were called and did not give gold. The reason of this rare departure from the custom is not stated (see Dugdale's 'Origines Juridicales,' p. 127, *marginé*). For many years past all the serjeants created at the same time have generally used the same motto, and some mottoes, as might be expected, have been used on more than one occasion: the consequence is, that these rings cannot be identified by their mottoes only. The early motto just mentioned has not been met with at a later date, but, as there is no complete list of such mottoes, it may have been repeated. An instance of one of three serjeants called together using a different motto from the others, occurred in 1625, on the accession of Charles I., when Walter and Trevor (who had been attorney and solicitor-general to him as Prince of Wales), and also Yelverton, were made serjeants with the view of their being raised to the bench. The motto of Walter and Trevor was *Regi Legi servire libertas*, and Yelverton's *Stat Lege Corona*.

"On one occasion, in the reign of Charles II., Lord Chief Justice Kelynge reproved from the bench the new serjeants, in an address to one of them, for giving rings that weighed but 18*s.* a-piece: whereas Fortescue, he added, says 'the rings given to the chief justices and to the chief baron ought to weigh 20*s.* a-piece,' and that he spoke not this expecting a recompense, but that it might not be drawn into a precedent.⁵ Fortescue, in fact, speaks of value not weight; but it seems to have been usual to estimate these rings by the value of their weight in gold, and this even as late as 1736 (see Wynne's 'Observations,' p. 337). Probably the rings that the chief justice complained of had been made after the principle of the agreement of 1555 above-mentioned, according to which the gold was to be 18*s.* worth, and 2*s.* were to be allowed for the fashion or making. As the chief justice had been a serjeant, his reproof seems to imply that such a reduction in the value of the rings had not been usual, or at least had

³ At another part of the account, p. 136, this charge is 21*l.* 12*s.* 1*½d.*

⁴ Dugd. Orig. Jurid. p. 124.

⁵ 1. Modern Rep. 9.

not occurred in 1660, when he was called to that degree; but this is not to be relied on, as he may not have been aware of the value of the rings he gave, or of those he had received from other sergeants.

"Many of the recent mottoes, and a few of the earlier may be found in 'Notes and Queries,' vol. v. pp. 110, 111, 181, 563, and 564, where the subject of sergeants' rings is discussed."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. RICHARD C. HUSSEY.—Drawings of two Roman urns of black earthenware, recently discovered in the parish of Frittenden, near Staplehurst, in Kent, which had been transmitted to him by the Rev. Edward Moore. The vessels are of a black ware, not unlike that made by the Romans in the Upchurch marshes. The largest of them was 16½ in. high and about 14 in. in diameter. The other about 15 in. high and 12 in. in diameter. About a mile south-west of Frittenden church is a bog situated in a wood, which is nearly an acre in extent, and till lately had been overgrown with underwood. The urns were found in a hole filled up with decayed vegetable matter to the depth of ten or twelve feet. They rested on the solid ground, embedded in the peat, and about fifteen feet below the original surface. Frittenden, as Mr. Hussey observed, is in the district commonly supposed to have remained unreclaimed forest long after Roman times. A few years ago some fragments of indisputably Roman construction were found in the walls of the parish church, showing that some site of Roman occupation existed in the vicinity. Mr. Hussey had never heard of any other vestige of the same period in that locality. At or near Wittersham, in the Isle of Oxeney, a Roman altar had been found, and coins are occasionally brought to light in the neighbourhood of Newenden. These facts tend to justify the supposition that the Romans navigated the Rother, probably to bring down the iron which was found in abundance at Ewhurst, Salehurst, and the more distant parts of Sussex.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—Portions of two Anglo-Saxon brooches found at Fenningham, in Suffolk. One of them resembles a brooch in Sir William Lawson's possession, found near Catterick Bridge, Yorkshire, and engraved in this Journal, vol. vi. p. 216. The other is more elaborately ornamented.

By Mr. C. E. LONG.—A small painting on panel, the property of Mr. Howard of Greystoke, having been in the possession of his ancestor, Thomas Earl of Arundel. It is a careful painting of the fifteenth century, and represents the head of an ecclesiastic, on whose shoulder the hand of some other figure is resting. An engraving of the painting was executed in 1647 by Hollar, who calls it a portrait of Thomas à Becket, painted by John Van Eyck. In this engraving, which is very rare, a sword or knife is represented as sticking in the upper part of the skull. Vosterman engraved the head, but without the knife, and a poor copy of Vosterman's plate was published by Baldwin. On examining the painting it will be seen that that is injured in the portion where Hollar has represented a knife, but that the injuries are of long standing, and must have existed before Hollar's time. It seems probable that the head, which is evidently a portrait, has formed part of some larger composition, such as a triptych, and that it represents a

canon or some other ecclesiastical dignitary, at whose expense the painting was executed. In this case, the hand on his shoulder would belong to his patron saint, who is standing behind the kneeling figure as in the triptych of Bonifacio Rotario, in the triptych of the Rocca Melone, figured in this Journal (see vol. xiv. p. 207). Mr. Scharf is disposed to attribute the painting, which has considerable merit, to Justin van Ghent, or one of his school.

By Mr. AUGUSTUS W. FRANKS.—A quadrant bearing the name of Edward VI., with the date 1551. It is made of brass, and is 10½ inches wide; in front is a square of the shadows; an arrangement for finding the hour; a circle containing the signs of the zodiac; tables of the cycle of the moon from 1539 to 1824; a table of the cycle of the sun from 1532 to 1868; and a table to find Easter. On the upper edge are engraved these verses:—

“Fluxus aquæ celer est, celer est et Fulminis ictus
Ast magis hijs tacitum tempus utrisque celer
Illud metiri quadrans tamen iste docebit
Et quota sit fias certior hora facit.
Omni negotio tempus est et oportunitas. Salom.”

In another part is engraved “Anno Domini 1551. Polus 51. 34,” and in another corner “W. B.” probably the initials of the engraver. The most important inscription is, however, “Edwardus Rex,” which is engraved with numerous flourishes, and somewhat resembles the signature of that king. At another point are the letters “J. C.” united by a knot. It has been suggested by Mr. J. Gough Nichols that these initials may be intended for Sir John Cheke, tutor to Edward VI. The back of the quadrant has a table of sines and cosines for taking altitudes. This curious instrument was obtained some time since at St. Omer, and is supposed to have once belonged to the English college there.

By the Rev. THOMAS HUGO.—The iron chape or termination of a dagger or knife sheath, found in the Thames.

By Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH.—An iron helmet or salade of the sixteenth century, of oval form; a raised ridge ornaments the centre from back to front, and there is a similar ridge on each side; the ornamental studs along the rim are rosettes of brass. This helmet formed part of the collection exhibited in Leicester Square some years since, together with another salade which is now in the Armory at the Tower.

The Very Rev. Dr. ROCK brought as illustrations of this helmet a series of prints of the Passion, engraved by James de Gheyn and Z. Dolendo after C. van Mandere, and executed towards the close of the XVIth century. An archer's salade, very similar in fashion, but with only one crest, exists in the Goodrich Court Armory. It bears the arms of Lucca, and is assigned to the middle of the XVIth century. Skelton's Illustrations, vol. ii. pl. 74.

March 5, 1858.

The LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, F.S.A., President, in the Chair.

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM communicated the following particulars regarding the reported destruction of certain ancient remains upon Hod Hill, in the parish of Stour Paine, near Blandford.

"I have ascertained the allegations to be too true, and I fear that the mischief is irreparably done, as regards that portion of the hill which has been brought under the plough.

"The peculiar interest of this encampment, comprising an area of some seventy acres within the entrenchments, consisted, as many of the members of the Institute will remember, of an inner quadrilateral work, which had all the appearance of Roman occupation, and in and near which a considerable quantity of Roman weapons, and other Roman antiquities have been discovered from time to time.

"About seven acres, out of the ten contained in this parallelogram, have been subjected, I am told, to the effacing process of ploughing, notwithstanding the remonstrances of some of the neighbouring gentry.

Another interesting memorial, however, has been hitherto spared, viz., the traces of tents which appear upon the hill; and I have reason to hope that they will not be touched, as I understand them to be upon a part of the ground which belongs to a different proprietor, or rather proprietors—the trustees of a certain charity, who are more alive to the value of such relics, and have, for the present at least, secured them from desecration by the terms of a lease.

"I wish we could only manage to inoculate others with a little of their spirit, and prevail upon them to abstain from sacrificing the few ancient monuments which remain amongst us, for the sake—in some cases, and I verily believe in this—of a very doubtful pecuniary remuneration.

"A few articles were shown to me, which have recently been turned up by the plough, consisting of a very perfect iron *falc*, spear head, nails, and the remains of an iron signet-ring, which seems to have borne the engraving of a Lyre."

Mr. J. H. LE KEUX offered the following observations on various architectural features in certain buildings connected with Chester Cathedral:—

"At our recent visit to Chester, I occupied myself in making a few architectural sketches, and as many of our members were not able to attend the meeting, I send them for examination, with a few remarks to explain their connection with the buildings as they now stand.

"There are many curious remains of Norman work, but I was principally attracted by the fine Early English work remaining in the King's Grammar School, formerly the Refectory of St. Werburgh's Abbey, and appropriated on the late occasion as the place where the temporary Museum of the Institute was formed.

"There is seen on the south side a very beautiful stone pulpit projecting from the wall; it has been approached by a flight of steps in the thickness of the wall, this staircase being open to the refectory by five very elegant arches forming an open arcade; the details shown in my drawing will show the excellence of the ornamentation. I would call attention to the foliated termination of the label moulding of the canopy of the pulpit; there has been also outer windows or an arcade, the divisions of which are seen in the masonry in the interior, and very well seen on the exterior, where some very beautiful fan-like cusplings remain. These, which appear in another drawing sent for exhibition, may be seen from an adjoining roof accessible to visitors.

"There is one light of the window set at an angle, thus showing that the pulpit was not actually built into the thickness of the wall, but formed a slight projection beyond the general line of the building. This pulpit is

something like the stone pulpit of the refectory at St. Mary's Abbey, Beaulieu, Hants, of which I send some engravings for comparison; these were published in Weale's Quarterly Papers. There is another stone pulpit at Fountains Abbey, and it has been supposed with much probability that the Shrewsbury pulpit, as also that at Magdalen College, Oxford, were originally constructed to be used as Refectory pulpits, in which one of the brethren read aloud while others were taking their repast. The following quotation may serve to explain the use of these pulpits. 'Let the reader of the Refectory, after prayers, carry the proper books to that apartment; let him stand before the book with his face turned to the East. When the brethren bow at the Gloria Patri and the Lord's Prayer, let the reader also incline himself, turning his face toward the assembly. The reader should not seat himself until the head of the Convent is seated. Let him read historical books with a sonorous voice, but sermons and homilies with a more gentle and engaging one.'

"The Refectory evidently extended formerly farther west than the present schoolroom, for we find the entrance doorway in the cloisters of the cathedral blocked up. This doorway is shown in one of the drawings exhibited, and is a very striking example of Early English work, a circular arch supported by slender columns, and filled with a bold cusping, which at first sight gives an idea of zigzag Norman work. The next object of interest in the same cloister, shown in the sketch, is the lavatory, consisting of three good arches resting on short columns, and a base of solid masonry. Wolsey had little respect for these remains, and built his perpendicular cloisters so as to rest against the piers of these arches, putting his monogram and cardinal's cap on the bosses of the groining. This side of the cloisters terminates with a very good Early English door leading to a staircase. This staircase is lighted by two curious quatrefoiled windows. The mouldings of these windows are the same on both sides.

"The next architectural feature to which I would invite notice, is the double arcade on the east and north side of the cloisters of Wolsey's time, and called the *Scriptorium*; this is said to have been partitioned off into carrels or cells, and shut in from the general cloister, to be used by the monks when engaged in writing and illuminating MSS. and the service-books required for the monastery. It is remarkable that this arcade only extends a part of the length of the east side of the cloister, in fact, no further than the shadow is thrown at any time from the north side of the cathedral, so that the skilful scribes might never be annoyed in their work by the glare of the sun. This cloister has been removed on the north side, except one compartment, but several of the bases of the supporting piers are still visible in the turf. The exterior of this part is shown in my sketches, and also a Norman arcade of three arches, where formerly had been placed sepulchral effigies, probably memorials of some of the abbots or benefactors of the monastery."

The Earl of ILCHESTER exhibited a small illuminated MS. volume of Ancient Statutes, of which Mr. W. S. Walford has furnished the following description:—

"Having examined the Earl of Ilchester's MS., I find it comprises most

¹ Representations of the pulpit, the lavatory, and cloisters, and of various details here noticed by Mr. Le Keux,

may be found, engraved from his drawings, in Mr. Parker's *Medieval Architecture of Chester*, recently published.

the statutes previous to the 1 Edw. III., which in the printed collections are called *Statuta Antiqua*, though several of them were not in reality acts of parliament, but some are ordinances or acts emanating from royal authority only, and others legal tracts of various kinds. The leaves have been a good deal cut down; this probably occurred when the book was put into its present binding, which is modern. They are now only 4½ inches by 3 inches, and in several places the ornamental designs have been slightly mutilated. To almost all the statutes there are illuminated initials, beautifully executed, which fortunately have escaped. Numerous coats of arms in colours have been added, and evidently at a much later period.

"The volume commences with a calendar; then comes a table of contents, and next a table of the chapters of the first eight statutes, and then the following statutes, &c., the names of which are given for the most part from the table of contents, viz. :—

"*Magna Carta de libertatibus Angl'* and *Carta de Foresta* (being French versions taken apparently from *Inspeximus* charters of Edw. I., which are probably referable to the twenty-fifth or twenty-eighth year of his reign, when, as is well known, he was required by parliament to confirm those early charters); *Sententia lata super Cartas* (being a form of excommunication against those who violated *Magna Carta*, or *Carta de Foresta*); *Statutum de Prohibitionibus* (which is better known as *Circumspecte agatis*, and is omitted in the table of contents); *Statutum dicitur Quo Warranto*; *Provisiones de Merton*; *Statuta de Marleberghe*; *Novi Articuli* (better known as *Articuli super Cartas*); *Westminster primum*; *Statutum de Gloucestre*; *Westminster secundum*; *Westminster tertium*; *Compositio de moneta et mensuris*; *Statutum de Mercatoribus*; *Statutum de Scaccario*; *Distictiones Scaccarii*; *Statutum Wynton*; *Modus inquirendi super Statuto Wynton*; *Statutum quod vocatur Rageman*; *Statutum quod dicitur Chaumpart* (after which a short one is, to a great extent, missing, the leaf having been partly torn out, but it should seem to have been a repetition of the *Statutum quod dicitur Quo Warranto*); *Visus Franciplegii*; *Modus faciendi Homagium et Fidelitatem*; *Modus intrandi in Decena* (a formula showing the manner of swearing in a Deciner, i.e., a Frankpledge, the oath being very like that given in Britton and Kitchen); *Statutum de Religiosis*; *Statutum de Militibus*; *Statutum de Antiquo Dominico Corone* (called *Tractatus*, instead of *Statutum*, in the body of the work); *Assisa Foreste*; *Assisa panis et cervisie*; *Judicium Pillorie et Tumberelli*; *Dies Communes in Banco*; *Dies Communes in brevi de Dote*; after which a page was blank, but is now occupied by a coat of arms; then follow *Statutum de Bigamis*, and *Statutum (or Tractatus) de Bastardis*. These last two were probably additions, as they are not named in the table of contents. With the exception of *Statutum de Militibus*, *Assisa Foreste*, and the last five, which are in Latin, all the preceding statutes, &c., are in French; which is remarkable, as most of the earliest are generally found in Latin only.

"As none of the preceding statutes are subsequent to the reign of Edw. II., nor is there reason to think that any of the ordinances or tracts are of later date, the MS. may be taken to be as early as the very beginning of the reign of Edw. III., with which date the original illuminations and the handwriting accord; indeed, the former had led me to think it might have been some few years earlier. A collection of ancient statutes, somewhat similar to this, entitled *Statuta et Brevia antiqua*,

which belonged to the Rev. St. Barbe Sydenham, of Brushford, Devon, was exhibited to the Institute in December, 1842, by the then Secretary, Mr. Lane. It was a much larger volume than this of the Earl of Ilchester, and without illuminations. Such collections were probably not uncommon in the fourteenth century; for they comprised the statutes that were then very important, and almost indispensable, not only to the lawyers practising in court, but also to the stewards and other legal advisers of wealthy lords and large religious houses. A serjeant-at-law, or an apprentice (as the barrister was then called), would hardly have had for practical purposes, a small illuminated volume like what has been described. But its size made it easily portable, and some of its contents are such as rendered it especially suitable for the steward of some great nobleman.

"After the Statutum (or Tractatus) de Bastardis, but in a hand of somewhat later date, are some medical precepts, purporting to have been addressed by Aristotle to Alexander the Great: these are not mentioned in the table of contents.

"At the end of the volume, where one looks for scribbling, are very rough sketches of two bonds by sureties, who engaged that some persons named Nicholas Stepvyns and Thomas Barnard on the one part, and Henry Baret on the other, should abide by an arbitration. The sureties were all of some place in Herefordshire, possibly Leominster but the name is much abbreviated and obscure. One of them is Thomas Hopkyns, without any designation; another is Philip Convers', a butcher; the third John Redyng, gentleman; and the fourth John Hoord, yeoman; the arbitrator nominated was John Harley, knight; while at the foot of the second bond is a note hardly legible, in which occurs the name of Radulphus Hakeluyt. This writing is all of one time, and probably of the latter half of the fifteenth century, at which period lived Sir John Harley, of Brampton Castle, Herefordshire, who was a distinguished man in his day, and an ancestor of the present Earl of Oxford and Mortimer. He married Joan, daughter of Sir John Hakluyt, of Eyton, in the same county. Whoever sketched those bonds was most likely a lawyer, and the owner of the book. I have not found that any of the Hakluyts were in the profession of the law at that time; but some years after, Richard Hakluyt, the cousin of the author of the Collection of early Voyages, one of the Hakluyts of Eyton, was of the Middle Temple. His arms were formerly in one of the windows of the hall of that inn.

"These rough sketches of bonds seem to indicate the locality of the then proprietor of this MS. He in all probability lived not far from Brampton or Eyton, both of which are near Wigmore, where was the castle of the Mortimers, Earls of March, the great lords of the neighbourhood. With them the Harleys were feudally and otherwise connected: whether the Hakluyts were also vassals of the lords of Wigmore I am not able to say. If, however, as appears probable, the MS. originally belonged to some nobleman's steward, this locality suggests that his lord was a Mortimer of Wigmore; and the date of the volume would point out either Roger, Earl of March, who was executed in 1330, the paramour of Queen Isabella, or else his son Edmund Mortimer, as the member of the family in whose service the steward was retained.

"However that may have been, this MS. evidently was afterwards in the possession of some one of the family of Lascelles, of Elston, Notts, which came from Yorkshire; for the arms, that have been mentioned as added

subsequently, are those of that family, and of families with whom some of them had intermarried; and judging from the style in which they are executed, they are referable to the reign of James I., or a few years earlier.

"They have been painted in wherever there appeared to be an available space, and in some cases they overlie parts of the ornamental borders. Lascelles is the principal coat: it occurs sometimes alone and often associated with others. On one page, near the beginning, are the three following coats:—1. *Arg.* 3 chaplets *gu.*; crest, issuing from a ducal coronet *or*, a griffin's head *vert*, beaked *or*; Lascelles of Elston. 2. *Az.* 3 bucks tripping *or*; crest, on a wreath a buck's head proper; Green. 3. *Per pale gu.* and *sa.*, a lion rampant, *arg.* crowned *or*; crest, issuing from a ducal coronet *arg.* a demi-eagle displayed *sa.*; *Bellers*, of *Notts* and *Leicestershire*. Scattered through the volume are the following impalements, which are repeated more than once, and each time in the order in which they are here given, viz. :—

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| " | " | <i>Lascelles</i> impaling <i>Gu.</i> 3 luces haurient <i>arg.</i> ; <i>Lucy</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Arg.</i> 5 fusils in fess <i>gu.</i> ; <i>Newmarch</i> of <i>Whalton</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Az.</i> 2 bars <i>or</i> ; <i>Burdett</i> . |
| " | " | Quarterly <i>gu.</i> and <i>vair</i> a bendlet <i>or</i> ; <i>Constable</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Arg.</i> a chev. between 3 lions' heads erased <i>gu.</i> ; ? <i>Rowcliffe</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Arg.</i> 3 chevrons braced in base <i>sa.</i> on a chief of the last 3 mullets of the 1st; <i>Danby</i> of <i>Yorkshire</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Arg.</i> a chev. between 3 hinds' heads erased <i>gu.</i> ; <i>Beckwith</i> of <i>Yorkshire</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Sa.</i> a fret <i>arg.</i> ; <i>Harrington</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Gu.</i> on a saltier <i>arg.</i> a mullet <i>sa.</i> ; <i>Nevill</i> , <i>Earl</i> of <i>Kent</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Per pale arg.</i> and <i>vert</i> 3 crescents <i>gu.</i> ; ? <i>Topcliffe</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Per chevron sa.</i> and <i>erm.</i> in chief 2 boars' heads couped <i>or</i> ; <i>Sandford</i> of <i>Thorpe Salvin</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Or</i> , a maunch <i>vert</i> ; <i>Paynell</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Arg.</i> 3 bars and in chief as many mullets pierced <i>sa.</i> ; ? <i>Haughton</i> . |
| " | " | <i>Arg.</i> 2 lions passant guardant <i>sa.</i> on a chief of the last 3 covered cups <i>or</i> ; <i>Wyrall</i> . |

"On a page that was left blank at the end of the *Tractatus de Bastardis* is the following coat of twelve quarterings:—

- " 1. *Arg.* 3 chaplets *gu.*; *Lascelles*.
2. *Gu.* 3 luces haurient *arg.*; *Lucy*.
3. *Arg.* 5 fusils in fess *gu.*; *Newmarch*.
4. *Az.* 2 bars *or*; *Burdett*.
5. *Arg.* a chevron between 3 lions' heads erased *gu.*; ? *Rowcliffe*.
6. *Az.* 3 bucks tripping *or*; *Green*.
7. *Gu.* a chevron between 3 cross crosslets *or*, in chief a lion passant of the last; *Mablethorpe*.
8. *Per pale gu.* and *sa.* a lion rampant *arg.* crowned *or*; *Bellers*.
9. *Az.* a bendlet between 6 stars (or mullets) *arg.*; *Holbo* or *Hoby*.
10. *Arg.* 3 bars and in chief as many mullets pierced *sa.*; ? *Haughton*.
11. *Gu.* 2 bars gemelles *arg.* a chief of the last; *Thornhill*.
12. As the 1st.

"In the visitations of Notts in the year 1614, preserved in Nos. 1400 and 1555 of the Harl. Collection, are some pedigrees of this family of Lascelles. From the former it appears that George Lascelles of Elston, who married Ann, daughter of Gervase Wyrall of Leversall, Yorkshire, was then living, and had several children by her, the eldest son being ten years of age; so that the marriage may be supposed to have taken place about 1600. Now it will be remembered that Lascelles and Wyrall is the last in order of the impaled coats, and therefore in all probability it was about that time the arms were added to this volume, for I find no other match of a Lascelles with Wyrall. The order in which the impaled coats occur each time, led me to expect they might indicate in regular succession the various marriages in a line of descent of the Lascelles of Elston at that time, but such does not appear to be the fact; yet the pedigrees just mentioned account for most of the impalements and also of the quarterings that have been mentioned. A quartered coat, tricked in the margin of the pedigree in No. 1400, consists of the same arms in the same order as in the quartered coat above described, with the exception of Lucy, Newmarch, and Thornhill; which probably, though claimed by Lascelles of Elston, were not allowed by the heralds.

"Seeing then the great probability that the addition of these various coats of arms was made about 1614 or a little earlier, there can hardly be a doubt that the then owner of the volume was the before-mentioned George Lascelles, Esq. of Elston, Notts.

"In confirmation of this conclusion, I have great pleasure in adding the following obliging communication from Mr. Hunter, who some years ago investigated the pedigree of this family.

"'Dodsworth, in vol. v. p. 19, of his MSS. in the Bodleian, has a pedigree of Lassels, with this note:—This Petegre was drawn by George Lasceles of Kneton Com. Notts Ar. Antiquitat. studiosi (*sic*). I think there can hardly be a doubt, that he means George Lassels of Elston, 1614 (who married in 1597 Ann, daughter of Gervase Wyrrel, of Leversal), who was born in 1576, and died in 1647; so contemporary with Dodsworth, though a little older. He had fifteen children, one of whom was named George; and it may be proper to add that he had a cousin german also named George, and an uncle George Lassels. His grandfather was also named George; but he was a knight, and would have been so designated by Dodsworth, had he been the George Lassels of whom he spake. It is by far the most reasonable supposition, that he meant George of Elston in 1614; and that he is the person who inserted the arms in Lord Ilchester's Manuscript.'

"This George Lascelles, of Kneton, is in all probability the same as George Lascelles of Elston (see Thoroton, pp. 154 and 174). I am not able to connect him, however, with any Herefordshire family to account for the volume being in his possession; nor can Lord Ilchester, I understand, explain how it came into the library at Melbury."

The Earl of ILCHESTER also exhibited a small MS. Book, lettered "Standards taken in the civil wars," and containing a series of drawings of Cornets used apparently by both sides in those wars. We hope at some future time to give a more detailed account of this volume.

Mr. CHARLES TUCKER described a remarkable ancient Conduit, of which remains have recently been discovered at Exeter, and exhibited plans, sections, and details, which will form the subject of a memoir hereafter.

Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—An iron sword blade enclosed in its bronze scabbard, the property of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, by whose kind permission this interesting weapon was exhibited. It was discovered in the year 1787, during some extensive works carried on for the purpose of deepening the bed of the river Witham. The river in its slow course to the sea deposits a black mud, which seems to have the property of preserving any object that may be deposited in it. The blade is of iron, somewhat blunt at the end, and has preserved the tang by which it was joined to the handle. The scabbard is of bronze with little ornament; at the upper end are a few curved lines and stippled work, and at the back a loop for suspension; it bears considerable resemblance to the sword found in the Thames, now preserved in Lord Lonsborough's museum, and engraved in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea*. An engraving of the Witham sword may be found in a memoir by Dr. George Pearson, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1796, p. 395.

By Mr. CHARLES TUCKER.—A drawing of a beautiful angular porch, formed by two arches of entrance at the south-west end of the south aisle of the Parish Church of Awliscombe, in Devonshire. This porch was erected by Thomas Chard, the last abbot of Ford; each arch is surmounted by a florid niche, and a third niche is inserted in the face of the buttress forming the angle between the two arches, an unusual position for a statue. The porch is embattled. There is a window of great beauty in the Chantry Chapel erected by the same abbot. The deep mouldings of the arches are supported by corbelled heads, possibly portraits of the builders of the porch. The internal ceiling presents a very elegant example of groining, with finely executed bosses and richly moulded ribs, uniting in a large central circular compartment, formed by four quatrefoils and very delicate intermediate leaf tracery and faces.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A cocoa-nut mounted in silver-gilt. The nut is carved with subjects, divided into four compartments by the ornamental bands of the mounting. In compartment 1, is a view of a building with two lofty towers, and an enclosed quadrangle before it; in front is a piece of water, in the background are cocoa-nut trees. 2. A quadrangular building with corner towers, the centre rising into a square tower. It has water in front of it, and is approached by a bridge. 3. A coat of arms under a coronet, being Nassau with the quarterings of Catzenellbogen, Vianen, and Dietz. 4. A portrait, enclosed in an oval medallion; under it QVA PATET ORBIS. The arms and portrait would seem to be those of John Maurice, Prince of Nassau-Siegen, one of the most valiant captains of his age. He was grandson of John Count of Nassau, called John Senior, chief of the branch of Nassau Dillenbourg. He was born in 1604, and in 1636 was appointed Captain-General of the Dutch settlements in Brazil, which by his judgment and bravery he extended and confirmed. In 1644 he returned to Holland, bringing with him a fleet laden with riches. He was received with great pomp, and in return for his services was appointed Governor of Wesel and General-in-chief of the Dutch cavalry. The Elector of Brandenburg made him grand master of the Teutonic Order, and governor of the Duchy of Cleves. He embellished the city of Cleves with a fine garden, and died 1679. Of the two views, the first represents most probably his residence in Brazil,

its tropical position being indicated by the cocoa-nut trees. The other, his residence in Holland, resembling greatly a Dutch chateau.—A tankard of silver-gilt, embossed with strap-work and bunches of fruit. Round the lower part is a pierced border, formed of letters principally Italic capitals, which are so involved as to be difficult to decypher. In front is a medallion, representing a triple head over a castle, and the motto, *Sapientia Præteritorum memoria et futurorum providentia*.—A small silver cup, resting on three cupids' heads: in the ornamental border at the top are three medallions, in two of which are engraved coats of arms, in the other the date 1603.—A pectoral ornament, perhaps a rational, which was worn on some occasions by ecclesiastics suspended from the neck. It is in the form of a quatrefoil, 4 inches in diameter. The front is ornamented with a small ivory carving of the Crucifixion, apparently of the eleventh or twelfth century; around it are four enamelled quatrefoils enclosing busts of saints, which resemble the work of the Siennese enamellers of the fifteenth century; between them are set stones and pastes; all these ornaments are fixed on gilt copper, which is ornamented with patterns in filigree. The central portion of the back consists of an engraving representing the great seal of the Emperor Wenceslaus (1378 to 1400). The inscription is however omitted. The engraving is reversed, as if the plate had been intended for printing impressions on paper. The remainder of the space is occupied by filigree similar to that in front. It seems difficult to assign any date to this anomalous composition.

By the Rev. GREVILLE J. CHESTER.—An impression from a seal formed of an amethyst set in silver, which is supposed to have been found in the neighbourhood of Diss, in Norfolk, a few years since. The amethyst, which is circular, is engraved with a sea-horse, and the silver setting is of pointed oval form; above and below the stone are engraved the crescent and sun. The legend is as follows:

+ ROB'TI. SIGNV NIL. SIGNANTIS. & . DIGNV.

(Roberti signum nil signantis nisi dignum).

The handle is formed by a loop terminating in an elegant trifoliated ornament. It is engraved in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. pl. xviii. f. 6, and appears to be of the thirteenth century.

By Mr. J. H. LE KEUX.—A bronze Chinese mirror, stamped at the back with six Chinese words, signifying that it was made during the period Siouen-te of the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1426—1435).

April 9, 1858.

JAMES YATES, Esq., F.R.S., in the chair.

The following communication was read from Mr. ALBERT WAY, addressed to Mr. Vulliamy from Genoa.

"I have received with much pleasure our last Journal, which, thanks to the advantages now afforded by the extension of the 'Book Post' to the Sardinian states, has reached me by the ordinary conveyances as readily as if I had been at home. I am glad to perceive that the attention of our society has been invited to a work of no common archæological interest, the Catalogue of the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, of which the first portion only has been completed. It will not be fully appreciated until the entire catalogue shall be before us; the more important class of Irish Antiquities, namely, those of gold,

silver, and bronze, having been reserved for the second moiety of the work, which I trust may speedily be completed; but I am informed that the Irish Academy, although the illustrations for this continuation have been prepared, will not proceed with its publication, unless the sale of this first part should give sufficient encouragement. In the notice of Mr. Wilde's Catalogue, given in our Journal, mention is made, I observe, of certain singular relics, of the class of 'Antiquities of Stone,' and peculiar, as I imagine, to Ireland and to the western islands or shores of Scotland, in whose early history the labours of Irish missionaries are so constantly found recorded. I see also that mention is made of a remarkable relic in that district,—the egg of St. Molios, as it is familiarly termed by the peasants of Arran, where during my explorations last summer in North Britain, I often heard the strange traditions still preserved in regard to the first Christian preacher in that island, the companion or contemporary, as it has been affirmed, of St. Columba. The talismanic stone to which I have referred has unfortunately been lost; it existed until recent times, and it was first described by Martin, in his *Tour to the Western Islands*, published in 1716, to which I may refer for the best statement of the strange popular belief in regard to the efficacy of the relic. He observes that he saw in Arran a valuable curiosity—the stone globe of St. Molingus (or Molios), who was chaplain to McDonald of the Isles. 'It is a green stone, about the bigness of a goose egg; the virtue is to remove stitches from the side. If the patient dies, the stone removes out of the bed of its own accord.' The natives, Martin also states, used the stone for purposes of solemn adjuration. 'Also in battle, if thrown in front of an enemy, they will lose courage and run.' McDonald of the Isles always carried the stone with him, and victory was always on his side, when he threw it among the enemy. The custody of it was the privilege of the family called Clan Chattan, alias Mac Intosh, ancient followers of McDonald. This singular vestige of an ancient superstition has been mentioned by Pennant and by several writers on the Western Hebrides, as also in the new *Statistical Account of Scotland*, and by our friend Mr. Cosmo Innes, in his valuable '*Origines Parochiales*.' I am not aware, however, that any detailed account of the numerous objects of a similar class, either existing, or of which record has been preserved, has been published; and the incidental mention of them in the notice of Mr. Wilde's Catalogue in our Journal, has suggested the desire to call the attention of our archaeological friends to the subject. In Ireland, such relics appear to have been not uncommonly found preserved upon altars, or at the foot of an ancient cross, or near some other site associated with the earliest introduction of Christianity.

"They were (observes the learned Dr. Petrie in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*) held in the highest veneration by the peasantry, as having belonged to the founders of churches, and were used for a variety of superstitious purposes, as the curing of diseases, taking oaths upon them, &c. I am not aware that there has been any suggestion given in regard to the origin of such a superstition; it appears, however, not improbable that such stones may have derived a certain veneration as sacred objects, from the circumstance of their having been brought by pilgrims from holy places in Italy or Palestine. There still exists at Ardmore, County Waterford, a black stone regarded as having been brought miraculously to the founder of the church, St. Deglan, by an angel, whilst he was performing mass in a church on his way from Rome. Mention occurs, I may

observe, in inventories of sacred relics in churches in England, of pebbles from the Desert where our Lord was tempted by Satan to convert stones into bread (*petræ de Quarantena*), and various petrified objects are still found in the east, which are preserved by pilgrims with a certain veneration. Examples are indeed without number of the presentation of various relics rare or intrinsically valuable, which in mediæval times it was customary to deposit on the altars, or to suspend in some other conspicuous position in churches. Of these, none perhaps was more frequent than the *Ovum Grifonis*, the Egg of the Grype or Griffin, doubtless the production of the Ostrich ; and it occurs often in our early church inventories. I was struck with the sight not many days since of such a Griffin's egg, as also of a cocoa-nut and sundry other exotic relics, appended to the tie-beam of a simple little chapel near Mentone, on the Maritime Alps.

"Relics of this description, however, brought from foreign parts were, as it would appear, merely suspended with a certain feeling of pious veneration, whereas the peculiar stones which occur in Ireland, and of which several examples existed in the western parts of Scotland, were directly associated with the introduction of Christianity, and have invariably been regarded as of talismanic or healing virtue. Amongst the most remarkable instances perhaps, illustrative of this ancient superstition, might be noticed the Red Stone of St. Columba, resembling an orange ; as also the White Stone, which Adamnan, his biographer, has described as taken by Columba out of the River Ness, in North Britain. It was long used for curing diseases, by drinking water in which it had been plunged.

"Many curious particulars regarding this subject may be found in Dr. Reeve's invaluable edition of the Life of St. Columba by Adamnan, recently published by the Irish Archaeological Society. In some instances these talismanic objects are formed of highly polished rock crystal, and they may have been originally used for purposes of Divination, as in the Magic Mirror. One of the most remarkable, as I believe, is the Crystal Globe, still in possession of the Marquis of Waterford. There is a tradition that it was brought from the Holy Land by one of the Le Poer family in the time of the Crusades. This crystal is at the present time eagerly sought after to be placed in a running stream, through which cattle diseased are driven backwards and forwards, in order to effect a cure ; or the ball is placed in the water given them to drink.

"I shall be pleased if these hasty notes on a subject of some interest in connection with ancient Folk-lore may prove acceptable to our Society at the next Meeting, and more especially if they should lead to any further investigation. I regret that the unfavourable weather for some weeks past has prevented my pursuing any enquiries into local antiquities in this part of the country, which might claim the attention of the Institute. I must however advert to a volume of no ordinary archaeological and historical interest, produced in this city in the course of last year. It is due to the exertions of a very able local antiquary, Signor Banchero, one of the most active members I believe of the Academy founded for the extension of Historical Enquiries in this country, and who had previously published an extensive series of Collections on the Public Monuments of Genoa, as also a Monograph on the History of the Cathedral. His last production comprises the Bronze Tablet discovered near Genoa in 1506, and recording an award in regard to the boundaries of the Genuenses, about 140 years previously to the Christian era. An admirable facsimile is given of this valuable monu-

ment, now preserved in the Palace of the Municipality at Genoa. The second subject, of which Signor Banchero has given a beautiful engraving, is the *Pallium*, or altar hanging of silk embroidered in gold, preserved in the same Palace. It represents the chief events in the life of St. Laurence, and is regarded as a production of the Byzantine artificers of the thirteenth century, and the gift of the Emperor Michael Paleologus.

"With these subjects of an earlier period, the volume which I have mentioned comprises the entire Cartulary of the Privileges and Grants by Ferdinand and Isabella to Christopher Columbus, from the precious manuscript in possession of the Municipality, as also facsimiles of three original letters from Columbus; these remarkable documents appear to be edited with the greatest care, and the volume which thus presents a memorial of the various precious possessions of the Municipality of Genoa, is an accession of unusual interest and value to archaeological literature."

Mr. POYNTER offered the following observations upon the ancient sign, exhibited by permission of Messrs. Gosling, and which, when such appendages were general in London, hung in front of their banking house, in Fleet Street:—"It is an upright oval tablet, about 2 feet high, and painted with the three squirrels, still extant over Messrs. Gosling's door; from both sides being alike, and from the irons remaining on the upper edge, it may be inferred that it swung like other signs of the period, on a bracket overhanging the street. These irons, however, cannot have been any part of a hinge, but must have been attached to the iron work, forming the hinge and secured by moveable keys, and it was probably put up and taken down daily. This probability is strengthened by the fact that the material of the painted tablet is solid silver, and hence, no doubt, its preservation. It is difficult to suggest any reason for the use of this costly metal, unless for the purpose of gilding it, but the ground is now yellow paint, and has been so since 1723, which date the tablet bears on one side. It is therefore probable that it was only repainted at that period, and that it may be really as old as the establishment of the firm. The ancestors of Messrs. Gosling were eminent goldsmiths in 1674, when a payment to them is recorded of £640 8s. for gold lace bought by the Duchess of Cleveland (see Timbs' *Curiosities of London*, p. 308), and it is a significant fact that the lady's lace was paid for out of the Secret Service money. This relic was only lately discovered, having lain in obscurity ever since it was dismounted from its original position."

A communication was read relating to an ancient gravestone, apparently of the thirteenth century, still remaining in the church-yard of Bredon, Worcestershire. The upper portion of the cross appeared to terminate in an unusual manner, which was looked upon by the writer as symbolical of the person buried beneath.

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. J. IRVINE.—An iron spear-head, 5½ inches in length, and a bone implement, slightly curved, toothed at one end and with a rounded termination at the other; on one side are engraved three sets of concentric circles; length 6½ inches. Both were found in a camp on Hamden Hill, near Montacute, Somersetshire (see *Archæologia*, vol. xxi., p. 39). The comb appears to belong to the same class of ancient relics as that found near the church of Stanwick, Yorkshire, with a human skull and heads of the *bos longifrons*. (See Catalogue of the Museum, York meeting of the Institute, p. 6).

Similar combs of bone have been found at the Castle Hill, Thetford, as described by Dr. Stukeley. A representation of one found in the Roman baths at Hunnum, is given in Hodgson's History of Northumberland, part ii., vol. iii., p. 319. Another, found in a circular fort in the Orkney Islands, is figured in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. iii., pl. v. Also, a Roman urn of grey-coloured ware, found in the field called "The Court Close," on the north side of the church at Marden Newtown, Dorset, in 1857. At the time of its discovery it contained bones supposed to be human.



Celt found in Lydia.
Length of the original, 2½ in.

By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—A small stone celt, represented in the accompanying woodcut; it was obtained by Mr. Burgon, at Sardis in Lydia, in 1811. The material appeared to be hæmatite or basalt, and in form and general appearance it bore considerable resemblance to the stone celts of the British Islands. Some very small objects of the same kind were discovered at Nineveh by Mr. Layard, and have been considered by some archæologists as the implements with which the cuneiform inscriptions were engraved on terra cotta.

MATRICES AND IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS.—By the LORD BRAYBROOKE. Ten matrices, one of them being of lead, the others are of brass, and of the thirteenth, or earliest part of the fourteenth century. 1. Leaden matrix, bearing the device of an eagle, with the legend—*SGILLVM MARTINI DE CORNHVLE*.—2. Matrix of circular form: a six-petaled flower; s' *WILLI' SELER: DE: DERBI*.—3. Pointed oval; bearing a figure of St. Peter, with the legend—*SAVNOTE PETRI ORA*.—4. Pointed oval, found at Debden, Essex; device, a tonsured head, seen in profile, a star over it; *CAVVT SERVI DEI*. This inscription has occurred on other seals, and it was noticed on the fictitious matrix of stone described in this Journal, vol. x. p. 68. 5. Circular; device, a lion sleeping; *WACE ME NO MAN*. This singular device, usually accompanied by the legend—*Wake me no man*—has occurred frequently on seals of the fourteenth century which have been produced at the meetings of the Institute; its signification has not been hitherto explained.—6. Circular; two figures, probably a rude representation of the Annunciation; *AVE MARIA*.—7. Circular; the Holy Lamb; *ECCE AGNVS*.—8. Circular; two hands conjoined; a fleur-de-lys over them; *LEL AMI AVET*. This device occurs frequently on the "Love-seals" of the fourteenth century.—9. Circular; a flower (?) of four petals; *LEL AMA AVET*.—10.—Circular; a horse saddled and bridled; s' . . . *E E* (name indistinct) *HORSHAM*.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS,

FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1857.

WE the undersigned having examined the accounts (with the vouchers) of the Archaeological Institute for the year 1857, do hereby certify that the same do present a true statement of the receipts and payments for that year, and from them has been prepared the following abstract, dated this 5th day of May, 1858.

(Signed)

WILLIAM PARKER HAMOND, JUN.
J. E. NIGHTINGALE.

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

ABSTRACT OF CASH ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1857.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1856	45 8 9	House Expenses:	
Ditto Petty Cash in Secretary's hands	1 5 6	House Rent	160 0 0
Annual Subscriptions, including Arrears	459 4 0	Secretary's Salary	150 0 0
Receipts for Sale of Works published by the Institute	83 9 0	Purchase of Books for the Library	5 0 0
Entrance Fees	23 1 0	Stationery	4 10 10
Life Compositions	21 0 0		319 19 10
Profits on transfer of Woodcuts, &c.	1 15 0	Publication Account:	
Net Balance, Choster Meeting, including Donations in aid of Local expenses	231 7 6	Printing Archaeological Journal	350 0 0
Amount advanced by the Secretary for Petty Cash	5 19 11	Drawing and Engraving	43 18 0
		Lithography	15 0 0
	£371 10 8		408 18 0
		Petty Cash Disbursements:	
		Housekeeper's wages and disbursements	23 18 0
		Attendant's ditto	19 10 0
		Expenses of exhibition of Portraits of Mary Queen of Scots	18 18 7
		Expenses of issue of the Journal	18 4 4
		Insurance of Rooms, Library, &c.	8 0 0
		Coals, &c.	2 4 0
		Lighting of Rooms for Meetings	1 3 11
		Sundries, including carriage of objects exhibited at Meetings, postage of Letters, &c.	10 5 8
			92 5 5
		Balance at Bank, December 31, 1857	50 7 5
			£71 10 8

Audited, and found correct, May 5, 1858.

(Signed) WILLIAM PARKER HAMOND, JUN. } Auditors.
J. E. NIGHTINGALE.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

THE HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE, AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. CANICE, KILKENNY. By the REV. JAMES GRAVES, A.B., and JOHN G. AUGUSTUS PRIM. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co. 1857. 4to. With many Illustrations.

It is with especial gratification that we invite the attention of archaeologists to the completion of this important contribution towards the History of Ecclesiastical Architecture in the sister kingdom. The investigation of the architectural monuments of Ireland, more particularly of those which exemplify the peculiarities of the later periods of Mediæval Art, has hitherto been very imperfectly pursued; whilst the attention of antiquaries has been almost exclusively devoted to the examination of those remarkable structures of an earlier age, around which a cloud of mysterious obscurity prevailed. Whilst, however, the paramount interest of the more ancient antiquities of Ireland must be fully recognised, and the archaeological student anticipates with hopeful expectation the results of that scientific and intelligent course of inquiry with which these important vestiges have in recent times been approached, we perceive with satisfaction the increasing disposition to investigate the numerous remains of Ecclesiastical, Domestic, and Military Architecture, as also the relics of mediæval times, and to place them in their true light as valuable subsidiary materials for the history of the sister kingdom.

The work under consideration is the first monograph of its class, as we believe, produced in Ireland, presenting a detailed Architectural History of one of the more important Ecclesiastical structures in that country.¹ In former volumes of this Journal the notice of our readers was called to certain valuable works which have thrown much light on the obscure origin and intention of the Round Towers, as also on the peculiarities of construction to be observed in earlier buildings destined for sacred uses. We revert with satisfaction to the interesting volume on the "Practical Geology and ancient Architecture of Ireland," produced by Mr. Wilkinson, and noticed in this Journal (vol. ii. p. 93), as also to the more elaborate and erudite treatise by Dr. Petrie, "The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland, anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion; comprising an Essay on the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland." To the latter, the most important contribution probably to Archæological Literature, which has been achieved in recent times, the attention of our readers was also formerly invited (Journal, vol. iii. p. 166), nor would we here omit to remind them of the useful "Handbook of Irish Antiquities," for which we are indebted to Mr. Wakeman, noticed in this Journal (vol. v. p. 241) and

¹ The History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, privately printed by Mr. W. Monck Mason in 1820, may be cited as the only other work

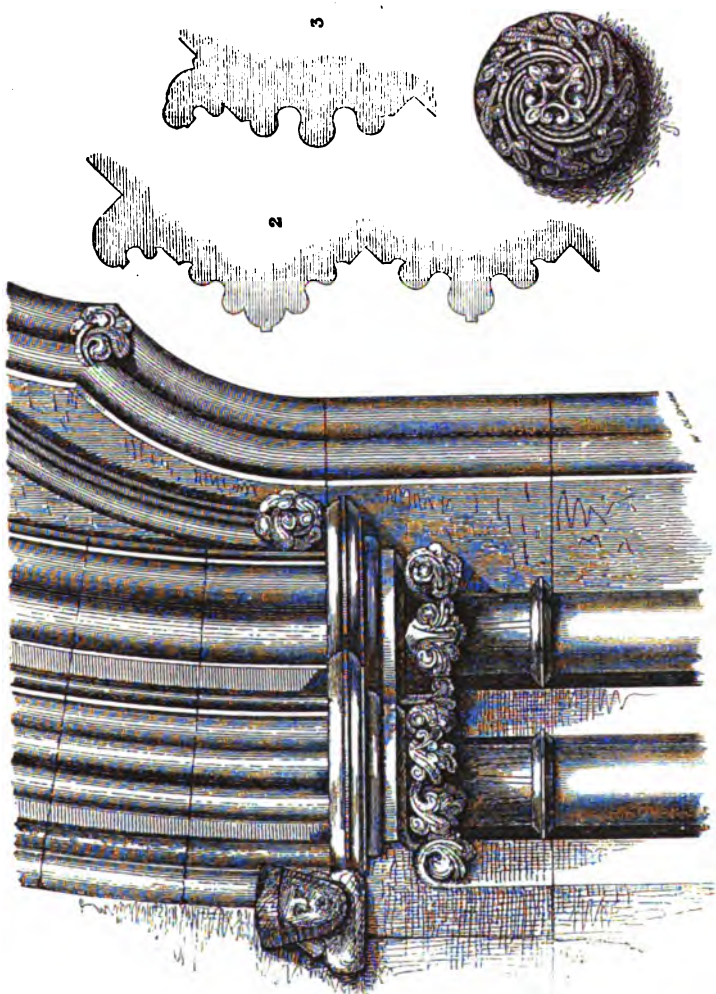
produced in Ireland with a special view to the illustration of Cathedral Antiquities in that country.

comprising a concise account of various ecclesiastical remains of various classes, the oratories and churches of a very early age; the hermitages and peculiar structures associated with the first preachers of the Christian faith in Ireland; as also notices of the cathedrals and conventual churches. Of the latter, Ireland presents numerous remarkable buildings, well deserving of careful classification as materials for the History of Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture, throughout the progress of its successive developments. To the authors of the beautifully illustrated volume before us, we are indebted for an exemplification of the style of the thirteenth century, as adopted in Ireland, and with scarcely any admixture of later periods. "The Early-English style of Gothic Architecture (Mr. Graves observes), having been fully developed ere the Cathedral of St. Canice was commenced, and the germs of the lighter and more ornate, although not more elegant architectural fashion, aptly termed Decorated, not having made their appearance before its completion, the structure affords a good and chaste example of a pure and beautiful period." Page 65.

The volume commences with introductory observations on the earliest Christian institutions of Ossory, the monastic communities of Seir-Kieran and Aghabo, supposed to have served in turn as the mother churches of the diocese ere Kilkenny became the cathedral city. Mr. Graves reserves, however, the full discussion of this subject, with the intention here announced of producing a separate work devoted to the history of the bishops and see of Ossory. Of Aghabo, founded in the sixth century by Canice, the intimate companion of the Apostle of the Picts, on the model of St. Columbkille's Monastery at Iona, and repeatedly plundered and destroyed, to rise again with renewed vitality, scarcely a vestige can now be traced. Our author proceeds, in the second chapter, to trace the origin and growth of the cathedral city, from the fane or cell of St. Canice, whence the name of Kilkenny is supposed to be derived, and the successive churches of timber, probably, recorded to have been destroyed by fire in the bitter contentions of the Irish chieftains, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, until the construction of a more durable fabric subsequent to the English conquest, and the acquisition of the seignior of Leinster and kingdom of Ossory by Strongbow. From that period may be dated the importance of Kilkenny; the erection of the castle appears to have been completed towards the close of the twelfth century, the see of Ossory being transferred from Aghabo about the same period, during the time of Hugh de Rous, "*primus Anglicus Episcopus Ossoriensis*." Mr. Graves has shown satisfactory grounds for his conclusion that the foundation of the existing church of St. Canice occurred not long after the year 1202; previously to that period the site had indeed been occupied by a parish church of some importance, and the erection of a more stately fabric had probably commenced under the predecessors of Bishop Hugh de Mapilton (1251-56), who is recorded to have been the chief benefactor to the work, whilst its completion is assigned to Geoffrey St. Leger, about the year 1260. In the following century considerable damage appears to have occurred through the fall of the belfry, and the consequent ruin of the choir: the cathedral did not recover from this catastrophe till after 1354, when Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory, restored and adorned the structure, introducing especially painted glass windows of remarkable beauty, "*inter quas enituit fenestra orientalis, opere tam eximio adornata, ut in universa Hibernia par ei non inveniretur.*"

The subsequent history of Kilkenny Cathedral, with many facts of local interest, is given in detail by our author, who proceeds in the succeeding chapter to a careful description of the architectural features, the portion of the volume which will be regarded by many of our readers as the most attractive and valuable. An accurate ground-plan accompanies this description, which is likewise illustrated by numerous woodcuts from drawings by the skilful pencil of Mr. Graves. Of these illustrations we are enabled through his kindness and the obliging permission of the publishers, to place several interesting examples before our readers. The general plan is that of a Latin cross, having chapels and other buildings clustering north and south of the choir. Amongst these there formerly existed, near the north-east angle of the choir, the cell of an anchorite. It is thus mentioned in a MS. description of the cathedral, written in the early part of the seventeenth century. "In aquilonari latere chori contigua muro exteriori ecclesiæ hærebat cella anachoretica, ex qua per fenestellam lapideam, quæ inibi posita erat ad dexterum cornu summi altaris, nempe a parte Evangelii, divina mysteria dum peragerentur prospicere poterat inclusus Anachoreta." The foundations of this chamber exist: its floor was nearly four feet below the level of the choir; there is a niche in the choir wall approached by steps, and this recess probably, as Mr. Graves observes, would be found to contain the *fenestella*, or "low-side window." There is also a cavity apparently for a fireplace, and rude lockers or niches. The learned writer of the MS. "De Ossoriensi Diœcesesi," above cited, states that in the Cathedrals of Armagh and Lismore, as also in many other churches in Ireland, there were cells for anchorites; and he adverts to the uninterrupted succession of inmates of the cell at Fore, of which he proposed to give an account, adding—"ex illa occasione inseremus regulas vitæ Anachoreticæ, tam illas quæ olim conscriptæ erant, quam quæ hoc tempore observantur, in ista quæ nunc superest Anachoresi."

The anchorage at Fore, as we are informed by Mr. Graves, still remains, and it is to be regretted that the promised *Regulæ* should not have been preserved. We may, however, refer our readers to the Notice of "The Ancræn Riwlæ," in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 194, where much information may be found regarding the peculiar usages of ascetic devotees of the class in question, during the thirteenth century. Some interesting particulars are given by Mr. Graves relating to a stratum of fragments of painted glass found in clearing out the "anker-house," and which, aided by the experience and acute discernment of our friend Mr. C. Winston, he was enabled to pronounce to be relics of the far-famed windows placed in the Cathedral by Bishop de Ledrede, c. 1354, as before mentioned. The condition of this remarkable *débris* presents a striking evidence of the reckless devastation to which the ecclesiastical monuments of Ireland had been subjected. "It would appear (says Mr. Graves) that the spoliators had a keen eye to profit, as the remains of a large wood fire, amounting to nearly a horse load of charcoal, was close at hand, into which the glass when torn down from the windows, had evidently been cast for the purpose of melting out the lead which bound it together. Here were found lumps of conglomerate matter composed of melted glass, lead, and charcoal. The quantity of glass discovered was considerable" (page 71). The colours were of considerable brilliancy: a plate in tinted lithography displays some of the characteristic details of ornament which have been assigned by Mr. Winston to the fourteenth century.



1
Details of the West Door. Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny.

After a brief notice of the vestiges of decorative pavements of impressed tiles, which appear to be of comparatively rare occurrence in Ireland, Mr. Graves proceeds to examine in minute detail the architectural features of the cathedral, and his descriptions, with the beautiful illustrations executed chiefly from his own drawings, present an interesting subject of study to the ecclesiologist. We recognise throughout a general conformity to the peculiarities of the Early English style as developed in our own country, and a remarkable resemblance in the mouldings, the treatment of sculptured foliage and other decorative enrichments, to the details of a similar class in England, at Salisbury Cathedral for instance, and other contemporary structures. Amongst the accompanying illustrations is represented a portion of the western entrance, one of the most elaborately decorated features of the fabric. It consists externally of a pointed arch, with two doorways beneath, the heads of which are cinque-foiled. The arch is enriched with two orders of mouldings deeply undercut (section, fig. 2). The tympanum is occupied by a recessed and quatrefoiled panel, within which was placed some sculptured figure, probably the Virgin and Infant Saviour. Fig. 3 gives the section of the moulding of this part: the spaces at each side are ornamented with figures of angels, kneeling in adoration, and bosses of

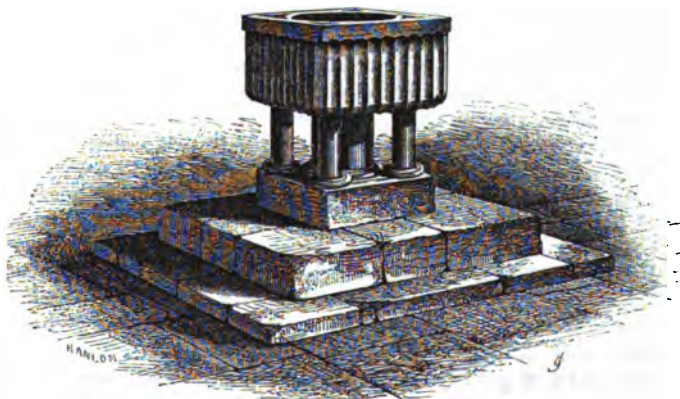


Doorway of the North Transept.

foliage, one of which is figured in the woodcuts. The entrance door of the north transept, however, is perhaps the most interesting feature of its kind in the church, and of this through Mr. Graves' kindness we are enabled to

place a representation before our readers. It presents the somewhat anomalous feature of a round arch beneath a pointed one, but it will be observed that the ornaments are throughout strictly Early English in their character, consisting of an attached and filleted roll of large size, banded at short intervals, and carried round the jambs and arch continuously. This remarkable doorway, having been constructed of soft sandstone, has suffered much from time; it is here figured from a careful restoration drawn with scrupulous fidelity by Mr. Graves, and we must refer our readers to the pages of his instructive volume for more precise information regarding the details, mouldings, &c., of which sections will be found at p. 104. Such deviations from the usual types of form are not without parallel in our own country. The fine door-way of the south transept at Beverley Minster, it will be remembered, presents a circular arch, flanked on either side by one of acutely-pointed form; the double apertures under the central arch being likewise pointed. In some features of its design the door at Kilkenny recalls certain examples which occur in North Britain, and especially a very beautiful doorway amongst the ruins of Kilwinning Abbey, Ayrshire.

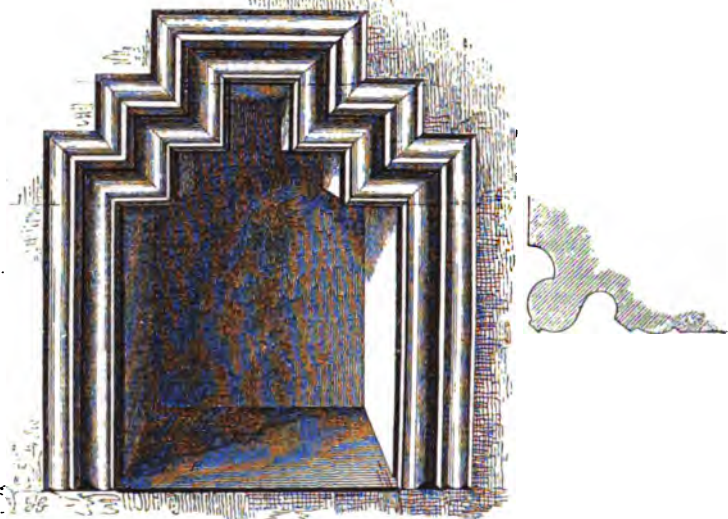
The limits of this notice will permit us only to take a passing glance at many matters of interest to which the researches of our friend Mr. Graves and his able fellow-labourer Mr. Prim have been addressed. Before closing, however, the review of the architectural section of the subject, we may invite attention to the curious example of ancient stall-work of Kilkenny marble, figured at p. 75, and traditionally termed "St. Kieran's chair," as also to the font, considered by our author to be coeval with the cathedral. It is of square form, the sides fluted, the bowl cylindrical, and it is supported by five short shafts in the style of the Early English age. Similar fonts exist in two neighbouring churches of that period. The



Font. Cathedral Church of St. Canice, Kilkenny.

square type, with five sustaining columns, is very familiar to us in this country, amongst examples of the Norman or the Transitional period; the fluted ornament is comparatively rare, the sides being more usually worked with shallow arched panels. Amongst other minor features we may here noticed the aumbrey, of rather unusual fashion, in the "Parish

Church," a chapel on the east side of the north transept. There is in the south wall a large and deep round-arched panel, the intention of which is not easily discovered; its lower part is about six feet from the floor, and directly beneath the centre of it is inserted an aumbrey, here figured. We

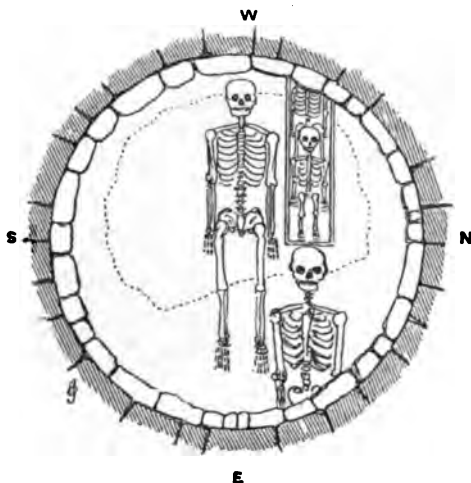


Aumbrey in the Parish Church, Kilkenny Cathedral.

have not met with any example precisely resembling this in its embattled or gradated character.

In the fourth chapter the author proceeds to describe the round tower which now stands near the eastern gable-buttress of the southern transept. The position of these singular pillar-towers, found in close proximity to so many of the ancient churches of Ireland, was generally so arranged as to be near the door in the *west* gable, and here likewise the traces of the old church of St. Canice show that the tower stood near the south-west angle. In regard to the purpose of those remarkable structures Mr. Graves observes that "although we do not hold the subject to have been completely cleared of the doubt and mystery with which it has been so long shrouded, yet we avow ourselves to have been convinced by the able and learned author of the Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, that these structures are of a date posterior to the introduction of Christianity into this Island, and that they are, what Giraldus Cambrensis termed them more than six centuries ago, '*turres ecclesiasticæ*.'" The date of this fine example is placed by Mr. Graves between the sixth and the ninth centuries: possibly it may have been erected as early as the times of St. Canice himself, who lived to the close of the sixth century. The removal of the accumulated earth from the external base, and of a mass of rubbish from the interior, including a stratum of guano of birds, which sold for 5*l.*, brought to light some remarkable evidence in regard to the site and construction of the foundations. The masonry had been laid on a black and yielding mould, from which protruded beyond the base-course externally human bones in an east and west direction; and within

the tower, the lowest deposit having been cleared away, a layer of stones resembling a pavement was found extending over a considerable portion of the internal area, on a level with the external base-course. The limits of the unpaved part of the area is shown in the annexed diagram by a dotted line. On removing this pavement human skeletons were found, deposited according to the usual Christian usage, with the feet to the east; and in one of these interments the remains of two children appeared, which had been buried in a wooden coffin. Upon such a treacherous base had the foundations of the tower rested! These facts, however, which have obviously an important bearing upon the occasional occurrence of human remains within the buildings of this class, here claim attention specially as supplying undeniable



Plan illustrating the excavation of the Round Tower.

proof that the tower had been erected upon ground previously used as a cemetery, in all probability a Christian burial-place, as Mr. Graves is disposed to conclude from the position of the bodies. The arguments which he has adduced in his detailed treatise on this structure, and his admirable representations of the constructive peculiarities, the door, windows, &c., deserve the careful consideration of all who take interest in the *vexata quæstio*, so ably handled by Dr. Petrie in his "Inquiry," before cited.

In the second section of the work before us will be found an elaborate dissertation on the sepulchral memorials still existing in the Cathedral church of St. Canice. They are exceedingly numerous and varied in character; one effigy only of the thirteenth century has been preserved; it may represent Bishop Roger of Wexford, who died in 1289; and it appears to be sculptured with unusual individuality of expression. It may deserve observation, that to the head of the pastoral staff a drapery or *infula* is appended, and that the prelate's feet are covered only by sandals, open at the toes and over the insteps, where these comparatively homely shoes are fastened by small buckles. The incised slabs bearing effigies traced in outline, as also slabs with foliated crosses, many of them displaying also symbols, inscriptions, &c., occur in great variety. In several of the monumental portraiture of early date, the deceased is represented with the hands upraised in a peculiar gesture, their palms being shown, and the thumbs brought near together, as in figures of St. Francis receiving the *stigmata*. It may be interesting to the collector of sepulchral brasses to be informed that traces of memorials of that description, at the present time of the greatest rarity in Ireland, were found in the cathedral. Mr.

SEPULCHRAL EFFIGIES IN KILKENNY CATHEDRAL.



Effigy of James Schorthals, in Kilkenny Cathedral. From the monument erected in his life-time, 1507.

Graves has given (p. 129) notes of a few Irish brasses formerly to be seen in other churches; the only existing specimens are in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. The tombs, however, most deserving of consideration, presented to us in Mr. Graves' "*Monumentarium*," are doubtless the effigies in armour, commemorative of persons of the noble house of Ormonde, and of other families of knightly condition.

The peculiar fashions of military costume in Ireland during the Middle Ages present certain anomalies deserving of special notice, as compared with contemporary usages in other European countries. The precise nature of the military equipment of the Irish, from the fourteenth century, and throughout the period when defences of mail gave place to plate-armour, presents a subject of great obscurity, the elucidation of which would require all that acute observation and indefatigable research which Mr. Hewitt has shown in his very useful treatise on the Armour and Weapons of the earlier period. One valuable source of information, of which he has so advantageously availed himself, is very scanty in the sister kingdom; we allude to the sepulchral effigies which occur in profuse variety in England, Germany, and other Continental states, presenting for the most part evidence of undeniable authenticity. The examples of monumental sculptures, however, comparatively rare as they may be in Ireland, are not less deserving of careful investigation, and a very interesting feature of the work under consideration consists of the singular illustrations of military costume, presented to our notice amongst the sepulchral memorials which are preserved in the church of St. Canice. Of these curious sculptures, the author's kindness has enabled us to place before our readers the representations which accompany this notice. Effigies of the earlier age,—the period of mailed defences, are of the greatest rarity in Ireland, one of the best-preserved examples as we believe being the monumental figure at Cashel, published by Mr. Du Noyer in this Journal (vol. ii., p. 125). We have been indebted to the kindness of the same talented archæologist for our knowledge of another example, of a much later age, the memorial of Thomas Butler, at Clonmel, figured in this Journal from a drawing by Mr. Du Noyer. (See vol. iii., p. 165.) The effigies which exist at Kilkenny present various features of close resemblance to that last mentioned. In most of them, as shown by the accompanying woodcuts, we find the same peculiarities,—the camail of unusual length, the body-armour formed of narrow over-lapping plates, or splints, the skirt of mail, the visored head-piece, of unusually lofty proportions, with certain other details of military costume rarely if ever found in monumental effigies in England. The first example occurring in Mr. Graves' Classification is the monument attributed to James, ninth Earl of Ormonde, who died in 1546; the effigy is placed upon an altar tomb, the sides of which are enriched with statuettes of the Apostles. The armour closely resembles that of the figure at Cashel, before mentioned. The accompanying woodcut represents another curious effigy of the same period; it rests on an altar tomb, bearing an inscription to the memory of James Schorthals, who caused it to be erected in 1507, some years previously to his decease. The body-armour in this example is highly curious, consisting of plates of metal riveted to each other in bands, and possibly affixed to a garment of quilted cloth or of leather, such as may have been termed "plated doublets," in the Instructions given by Sutcliffe.² Armour of this description is very

² The Practice of Armes. London, 1593, pp. 23, 163.

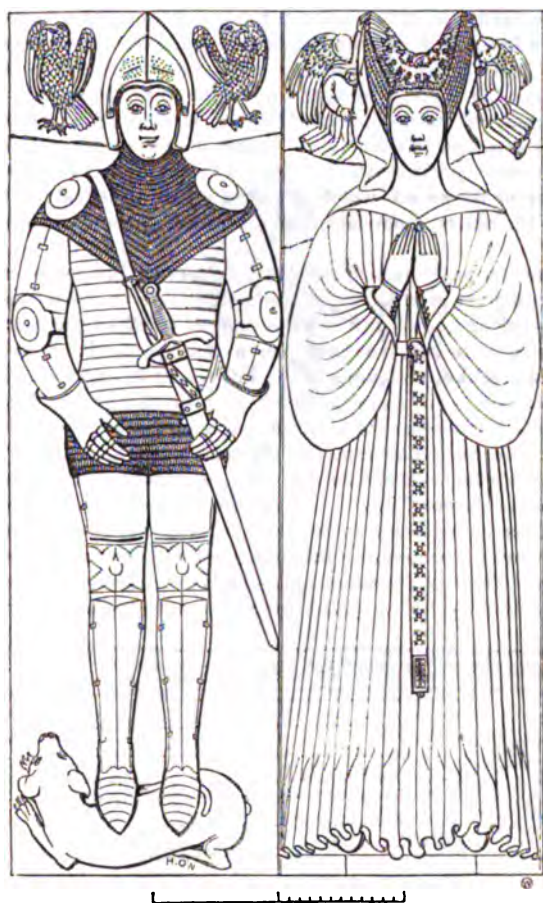
rarely shown in monumental sculpture, but it is comparatively of frequent occurrence in illuminations. Mr. Hewitt has kindly pointed out a good example in Cott. MS. Nero, E. 2, fol. 124, executed in the fifteenth century. In this drawing the tegulated garment reaches to the middle of the thigh, as in the effigy of Schorthals; the legs above the knees being protected by mailed breeches, instead of the short skirt of mail, seen in that figure. As armour for the neck it may be seen in Sloane MS. 346, and in Roy. MS. 16 G. VI., fol. 304. A skirt of small plates thus combined may be noticed in the sepulchral brass of Sir Walter Mantell (1487) figured in this Journal, vol. ix., p. 300; and their use in defences for the hands and feet is shown in the effigy of Sir Humphry Littlebury (Stothard, pl. 75; compare also portions of the effigy at Ash, *ibid.* pl. 61). The curious effigy at Newton Solney, Derbyshire, described by Mr. Hewitt in this Journal, vol. vii., p. 367, has the heel of the sabatyn formed with little plates, riveted probably, as he observes, on leather, while the fore part of the foot is furnished with splints. He informs us that he has not found any effigy showing the use of such armour for the body, as illustrated by the remarkable example at Kilkenny. Our readers will not fail to notice the escutcheons introduced near the head of the figure of Schorthals; one of them is charged with the emblems of the Passion, the other bears the arms of the deceased.

By the friendly permission of Mr. Graves we are enabled to give two other illustrations of the military equipment, used by the Irish in the sixteenth century, and exemplifying the combination of defences retained in use long after they had given place to novel fashions in other countries. The accompanying woodcuts represent the effigies of Piers, Earl of Ormonde, who died in 1539, and his countess. The armour of his son, James, Earl of Ormonde, (if the tomb before noticed is rightly attributed to him) is identical with that here shown as worn by his father. The body-armour of splints is found in both examples, the same pointed basinet, and long camail, furnished with round plates on the shoulders.³ At each side of the head is carved the Ormonde crest, a falcon. The head of the countess is supported by angels; she wears the horned head-dress, and reticulated crepsine enclosing the hair, fashions in vogue in England during the time of Henry VI., at least a century previous to the date of these monumental portraitures. The use of a skirt of narrow horizontal plates, or taces, had long previously been in vogue for the protection of the hips and thighs, and portions of other defences had been constructed in like manner; giving facility of movement to the joints, to the hands or feet. We have not found, however, any other example of body armour of this description extending, as in the effigies under consideration, below the waist: the usual fashion of a suit of splints is shown by that figured in Skelton's Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Armory, vol. i. pl. xxx. Suits on this principle were called by the French *écrevisses*, from their resemblance to a lobster, but although convenient in giving great facility of movement, an inevitable disadvantage must have prevented their general adoption. The *lames* of the breast-plate could not, from its convexity, allow the body to bend

³ These shoulder-plates occur on the effigy of a knight at Lusk, co. Dublin, figured in Walker's Essay on the Dress of the Irish, pl. xii., and in Meyrick's Critical Enquiry, vol. ii. p. 95; edit.

1842. Sir Samuel Meyrick, *ibid.* p. 86, supposes such plates to be identical with certain pieces of armour termed *clavengi*. This explanation, however, may appear questionable.

SEPULCHRAL EFFIGIES IN KILKENNY CATHEDRAL.

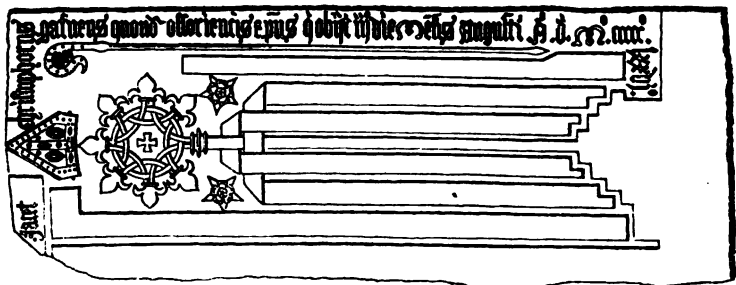


Effigies of Piers Butler, Earl of Ormonde, who died 1539, and Margaret Fitzgerald
his wife.

forward unless they overlapped upwards, and this rendered them liable to be struck into and torn asunder by the martel de fer.

The last example which we have here to notice is even more remarkable than those already described, in regard to the use of mail at a period when defences of that nature had been abandoned in other parts of Europe. The effigy of Sir John Grace, of Courtstown, here figured, represents him in the body armour of splints, the rest of his person being wholly protected by mail, with the exception of the visored basinet, genouillères, and sollerets. The hands are bared, the mail having been slipped off, as occasionally seen in effigies of the fourteenth century. The sword hangs in an unusual position behind the figure; and an indication may be perceived, as Mr. Graves suggests, of some kind of "taces, formed of a series of overlapping plates attached to a lining of leather or strong cloth, and serving to protect the upper parts of the thighs. The presence of taces is proved by the position of the sword, which is placed beneath the body of the figure, showing that the plates, from the waist downwards, do not extend all round the person."

The documents published in the State Papers supply some curious particulars regarding the warlike appliances of the Irish at the period to which these effigies belong. In 1515 it was proposed to make proclamation that every person "able to bere wapyn do pervay for hym self a dowblet or cote of fence called a jakke, no lengre to the knee, a salet and sword;" and if he had not enough to buy a coat of fence, he "be chargeid with a brest tyll God sende hym wherewith" to arm himself more effectively. Gentlemen of lands to ride in white harness after the manner of England, "or else in his jakke with his halbryk and his gorgete, so that he shalle bere his spere in the rest, at his pleasur," &c.⁴ In a map of Ireland, by John Goghe, dated 1567, the Ulster galloglasses appear in hauberks, with bacinets and camails after the fashion of those seen in the effigies at Kilkenny. Their arms and legs are bare. Their appearance and weapons precisely agree with the report sent to Henry VIII. by Sir Anthony Sentleger in 1543.⁵



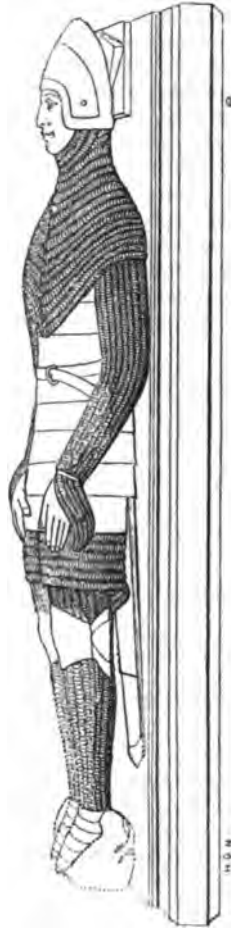
Incised Monumental Slab. Christopher Gafrey, Bishop of Ossory, who died 1576.

The incised memorials and slabs ornamented with foliated crosses, interlaced or riband patterns, symbols, and devices, form a varied and interesting class amongst the numerous sepulchral antiquities described by our authors. Some of them present designs dissimilar to any English slabs of a like

⁴ State Papers of the times of Henry VIII., vol. ii., pp. 19, 22.

⁵ Ibid. vol. iii. p. 444.

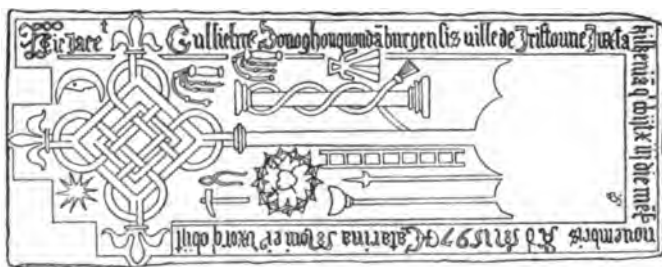
SEPULCHRAL MEMORIALS IN KILKENNY CATHEDRAL.



Effigy of Sir John Grace, of Courtstown, who died 1552.

description, figured in Mr. Cutt's Manual, or in other publications. We may notice an example with a gracefully interlaced cross, having a broad scroll passing through its shaft, and inscribed with the well-known admonition—"Quisquis es qui transieris," &c. This singular memorial bears the name of John Moghlande, chancellor of the church of Ossory, who died in 1508. On another slab, to the memory of Christopher, bishop of Ossory, who died 1576, the scroll ornament, not inscribed, is quaintly interlaced with the shaft, as shown in the accompanying woodcut. At the side is placed the pastoral staff, and over the elegantly floriated head of the cross is introduced a mitre. "It is extremely probable (remarks Mr. Graves), that cross-slabs were manufactured beforehand, and kept in stock :—this may account for the fact that the reformed prelate is commemorated by a style of monument in general use before the Reformation, but subsequently almost entirely confined to the members of the Roman Catholic church in Ireland."

The woodcut here given presents another elaborate specimen of the monumental slab, the head of the cross being of an interlaced ribband-pattern which seems to recall a certain tradition of the curious ornamentation found upon very early Christian sculptures in Ireland. The cross is in this instance accompanied by a curious series of the symbols of the Passion ; the pillar, seamless coat and the scourges, the ladder, spear, a long staff supporting an



Incised cross-slab, with the emblems of the Passion. William Donoghough, Burgess of Irishtown. Ob. 1597.

object like a cup, probably representing the vinegar mingled with gall, the crown of thorns enclosing a heart pierced by two swords, the hammer and pincers, and lastly the sun and moon, which ceased to give their light at the crucifixion. The inscription commemorates William Donoghough, burgess of Irishtown, near Kilkenny, who died 1597. These sacred symbols often occur upon Irish memorials : a remarkable example, communicated by Mr. Du Noyer, has been figured in this Journal, vol. xi. p. 80.

The emblems of the trade or occupation of the deceased occur on grave-slabs in Ireland, as also in North Britain. The memorial of a burgess of Kilkenny, deceased in 1609, and who doubtless was a weaver, bears near the shaft of the cross the fly-shuttle, temples, frame of a spring-loom, and a spool of yarn.

We must here close these imperfect notices of a very interesting volume. The authors have for some years been of excellent repute in the ranks of archaeology. The energetic Society, which under their auspices has extended the range of well directed investigations to the entire South Eastern parts of the sister kingdom, has achieved very much for the conservation of National Monuments and the promotion of intelligent research.

TOKENS ISSUED IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN ENGLAND, WALES, AND IRELAND, by Corporations, Merchants, Tradesmen, &c. Described and Illustrated by WILLIAM BOYNE, F.S.A. London: John Russell Smith, 1858. 8vo. With forty-two plates, containing figures of five hundred tokens.

THE diminutive currency of which the volume before us has at length supplied an accurate *conspectus*, has long been regarded with interest, not only by those who devote attention to Numismatic inquiries, but by the Topographer, and by many who delight in the various pursuits of antiquarian research. The publication of Snelling, in 1766, was the first endeavour to bring into classification the multiplicity of types known even at that period to the collector. In recent times the subject had been resumed, so far as the tokens current in London were concerned; Mr. J. Yonge Akerman, the value of whose researches has been so fully appreciated by numismatists, produced in 1849, a *Manual of the Tradesmen's Tokens current in London and its vicinity*, consisting of nearly 2500 pieces; and, in 1855, Mr. J. H. Burn edited under the direction of the Library Committee, Guildhall, a *Descriptive Catalogue of the London Tokens presented to the Corporation Library by Mr. H. B. H. Beaufoy*. This collection comprised 1335 pieces, and Mr. Burn has enriched his Description with numerous notes on London traders' signs, and other curious matters illustrative of the history of the Metropolis. We are indebted to Mr. Boyne for a far more extensive Inventory, comprising all tokens known to have been issued throughout the United Kingdom; it may surprise some of our readers to learn that, during the quarter of a century, the term that this currency continued in circulation, it had been conjectured that the number of types amounted possibly to eighty thousand! This, however, is clearly shown to have been a very exaggerated estimate, and after the laborious inquiries of which the volume before us is the result, the author is disposed to believe that the entire issue did not exceed twenty thousand, of which he has here described nearly a moiety. The general character of this valuable work of reference will be best made known by Mr. Boyne's own announcement:—

"The series of Tokens described in this work commences with the year 1648, about the time of the beheading of Charles I., when the Royal prerogative of Coining was set aside, and extends to the year 1672, when the circulation of coins of this description was cried down by a Proclamation of Charles II. As memorials of a period which was perhaps more important and eventful than any other in English history, these Tokens are acknowledged to be of high value. They circulated in nearly every town in the kingdom (except in Scotland), and they bear on them records of families, companies, buildings, ancient inns, old customs, and many other matters of topographical and antiquarian interest. Many of them were issued by Members of the Long Parliament, by Lords of Manors, Mayors, and Sheriffs. The student of Heraldry will find among them numerous coats-of-arms of families, cities, towns, abbays, trades, etc. Among the most frequent devices are, the Trade Arms; articles of dress, some of them long since obsolete; implements of war, trade, and agriculture; and the various signs by which the shops and inns were distinguished at a time when the houses were not numbered.

"The List of Tokens of the Seventeenth Century now published includes

a great number never before described, and contains nearly ten thousand pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, issued in sixteen hundred cities, towns, and villages in England, Wales, and Ireland. The descriptions are arranged alphabetically, under the counties, and under the towns in each county; they are accompanied with numerous notes relating to the issue of tokens, family history, etc. A copious index of names and towns is added, which will be found to possess great interest for the topographer and antiquary."

It is obvious that in an Inventory of this extent the addition of any extensive commentary of notes, local or historical, such as the pleasant antiquarian jottings with which Mr. Burn illustrated the contents of the "Beaufoy Cabinet," would have rendered the work inconveniently voluminous. Such a Commentary might indeed form a second volume of equal size, and of very great interest. For instance, we turned to the "Poores halfe-peny of Croyland," amongst the Tokens of Lincolnshire, in the hope to find a record of the curious coat which it bears,—three knives in pale and three whips in fess. We were indebted to our late friend Mr. Willson, so deeply conversant with the antiquities of his county, for pointing out the significance of this device on the Crowland tokens which he exhibited in the Temporary Museum at our Meeting in Lincoln. In these ancient arms of the Abbey, where St. Bartholomew was held in special veneration, the knives, symbols of his cruel martyrdom by flaying, are found combined with the scourges of St. Guthlac, the founder, used possibly in his ascetic exercises. Mr. Willson exhibited on the same occasion, specimens of the Croyland knives, presented in olden times to visitors on St. Bartholomew's day. This local usage seems scarcely to have ceased at the Dissolution. We advert to these particulars by no means to complain of any deficiency in the author's description of this token, but to exemplify the curious information associated with many of these diminutive pieces, and the advantage which must accrue in many branches of archaeological investigation from the laborious undertaking achieved by Mr. Boyne. How much were it to be desired that some antiquary of equal ability and industry should supply another *desideratum*,—the classified description of counters and jetons found or used in Great Britain. Snelling's work gives a very imperfect notion of their variety and interest amongst the minor accessories to archæology and history. How well has their value been demonstrated in foreign countries by M. de Fontenay, M. Rossignol, of Dijon, and other recent writers on this neglected subject.

Archæological Intelligence.

We have the pleasure of announcing the publication of the First Part of Mr. PAPWORTH'S Dictionary of Coats of Arms. The Subscribers may look for the Second Part in December. The Plan, which is carefully detailed in the Introduction, is in substance, this: The arms are arranged in alphabetical order by the charges named first in blazoning them. What may appear to be exceptions are explained in that Introduction. A reference to the first page of that portion of the work, and an occasional glance at the tabular scheme at p. 6, showing how the larger heads are subdivided, will, we doubt not, soon enable persons at all conversant with heraldry, to use this Alphabetical Ordinary with facility, and even others will with a

little pains, be able to avail themselves of it. The utility of this volume will be an inducement to all archaeologists to make themselves in some degree acquainted with the subject. As in common dictionaries, when through a varying orthography, or through ignorance, a word cannot be found where it is first sought, a further search is requisite; so also here, if the coat admits of more than one mode of blazoning it, or we know not how it should be blazoned, a reference to more than one head may be necessary.

Since every fifty additional subscribers will, according to the terms of publication, reduce the price and shorten the time for the completion of the work, we would urge those that have subscribed to use their best endeavours to augment the subscription list. It is very desirable that the whole work should be in our hands as early as possible. All communications on the subject should be addressed to Mr. J. W. Papworth, 14A, Great Marlborough Street, London.

We adverted briefly on a former occasion to the proposal submitted to the Treasury early in the last year by the Master of the Rolls, for the publication of the *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*. As many of our readers may not be fully aware of the important character and extent of the undertaking, which received the full sanction of H. M. Treasury, it may be acceptable to them to be informed of the progress already made, as also of the arrangements which promise to ensure the uninterrupted continuation of this highly valuable series.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these Materials for National History should be selected for publication under competent Editors, without reference to Periodical or Chronological arrangement, and without mutilation or abridgment. He inferred that, by an expenditure of 3000*l.* per annum, continued for ten years, and the production of about twelve volumes annually, the greater part of unedited matter, worthy of publication, would be completed. He also recommended that the Works should be published in royal 8vo., separately, as they were finished; the responsibility of the task resting upon the several Editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls, with the sanction of the Treasury. Each Editor to give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and peculiarities, a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology, together with such notes only as might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text, the only illustration suggested being a facsimile of the MS. adopted.

Eight volumes have been already published: these consist of Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, edited by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston;—*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, Vol. 1, edited by the Rev. J. Stevenson;—John Capgrave's *Historia de Inclytis Henricis Omnibus*, by Rev. F. C. Hingeston;—Thomas de Walden's *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, by the Rev. W. W. Shirley;—*La Vie de St. Edouard le Confesseur, en vers François*; *Vita Beati Edwardi Regis et Confessoris*; and *Vita Edwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium Requiescit*, by the Rev. H. R. Luard;—the *Scottish Metrical Chronicle*, by Mr. W. Turnbull;—*Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, by the Rev. C. Hardwick;—*Monumenta Franciscana*, comprising the *Annals of Thomas de Eccleston de adventu fratrum Minorum in Anglia*, *Adæ de Marisco*, and the *Registrum fratrum minorum Londoniæ*, by the Rev. J. S. Brewer. The facsimiles, lithographed in colours, are admirable.

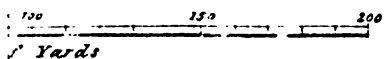
Amongst the works in immediate preparation may be enumerated the following important *desiderata* in our Historical literature. 1. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ (A.D. 1447—1066), edited by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor. 2. Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, vol. ii.; edited by the Rev. J. Stevenson. 3. The Represser of over much Blaming of the Clergy; by Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester; edited by the Rev. C. Babington. 4. Memorials of Henry VII., Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis de Vita Regis Henrici VII. Historia, necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia; edited by Mr. J. Gairdner. 5. Memorials of Henry V., comprising—Vita Henrici V. Roberto Redmanno auctore;—Versus in laudem Regis Henrici V.;—Elmhami Liber metricus de Henrico V.; edited by Mr. C. A. Cole. 6. Memoriales Londonienses, scilicet Liber Albus necnon Liber Customarum in archivis Guyhaldæ asservati; edited by Mr. H. T. Riley. 7. Eulogium Historiarum sive Temporis, Chronicon ab orbe condito usque ad A.D. 1366, a monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum, vol. i.: edited by Mr. F. S. Haydon. 8. The Buik of the Chroniclis of Scotland; vols. ii. and iii.; edited by Mr. W. B. Turnbull. 9. The Anglo Saxon Chronicle, edited by Mr. B. Thorpe. 10. Le Livre de Reis de Brittanie; edited by Mr. J. Glover. 11. Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. relating to the early History of Great Britain; edited by Mr. T. Duffus Hardy. The publication of these volumes may be expected within the ensuing twelve months. The following works are also in progress. 1. Bartholomæi de Cotton, monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana (A.D. 449—1295); edited by Mr. H. R. Luard. 2. Historia minor Matthæi Paris; edited by Sir F. Madden. 3. Chronica Johannis de Oxenides; edited by Sir H. Ellis. 4. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretagne à present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin; edited by Mr. W. Hardy. 5. The Wars of the Danes in Ireland, written in the Irish language; edited by the Rev. Dr. Todd. 6. The Brut y Tywysogion, or Chronicle of the Princes of Wales, and the Annales Cambriæ; edited by the Rev. J. Williams. 7. The Opus Tertium and Opus Minus of Roger Bacon; edited by the Rev. J. S. Brewer. 8. Collection of Political Poems from the accession of Edward III. to the reign of Henry VIII.; edited by Mr. Thomas Wright. 9. Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the reigns of Henry IV., Henry V. and Henry VI.; edited by the Rev. F. C. Hingeston.

Mr. ROBERT FERGUSON, already well known to us through his investigations of the traces of the Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland, (London, Longman & Co., 1856), has recently published a volume to which we desire to invite attention; it is entitled—"English Surnames, and their place in the Teutonic Family." Our readers will not fail to recall the impulse which our lamented friend Mr. Kemble gave to the investigation of personal names; all who appreciate the evidence which they frequently supply, must study with satisfaction his talented dissertation on the "Names of the Anglo-Saxons," published in the Transactions of our Society at the Winchester Meeting. Mr. M. A. Lower, whose name is so familiar to us in connexion with researches into Family Nomenclature, announces a new work on the subject to be produced by Subscription, entitled—"Patronymica Britannica, a Dictionary of Family Names." Subscribers should forward their names without delay to the author at Lewes.



ON DREW.

58.



The Archaeological Journal.

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THE DRUIDICAL TEMPLE AT STANTON DREW, COMMONLY CALLED THE WEDDINGS.

To the antiquary who has lingered in astonishment beneath the gigantic trilithons of Stonehenge, or who has made the circuit of the huge vallum of Abury, wondering as he walked at the magnitude and grandeur of the few remaining portions of the circles which it encompassed, the sight of the ancient work at Stanton Drew, in the county of Somerset, cannot fail to be somewhat disappointing. It is by no means an imposing monument of antiquity. It has no vast downs studded with barrows to encircle it, and give it the awfulness attendant upon solitude; the stones which compose it are not particularly large, nor is their arrangement such as to produce much effect; it has no vallum or fosse to enclose it; nor are the four portions which compose it all visible at the same time from any one point. It is nevertheless a spot full of interest to the student of his country's antiquities, and is generally considered to have been constructed at a much earlier period than either of the two grander monuments in the adjoining county. It is situated about seven miles south of Bristol, in the fertile and well-wooded valley of the Chew, in some pasture-ground near the river, and is overlooked by the range of the Dundry Hills, of which the nearest and most important height is the remarkable elevation called Maes Knoll. The tump which has been raised to isolate the Knoll and protect the camp which crowns it, is a conspicuous object from Stanton Drew, and it may be easily imagined to be coeval with the erection of the neighbouring temple. The mound and dyke, called "Wansdyke," which connect the camps at Hampton Down and Stantonbury, and which are so remarkably distinct at

Englishcombe, are continued to this hill fortress, and may be traced in the meadow at the foot of the hill in their course from Compton Dando. In other respects there is nothing in the immediate neighbourhood of Stanton Drew which is particularly in keeping with its venerable stone circles, or which would lead a person who was not aware of their existence to expect to meet with such a monument in such a place.

Before describing its present condition, I will briefly notice the earliest, and also the best accounts of it which have come down to us ; and it is satisfactory to find from them that this very interesting remnant of remote antiquity has been suffered to remain unmolested for nearly a century and a half. "They told me," says Aubrey, in 1664, "they (the stones) are much diminished within these few years ;" and Stukeley speaks of "a late tenant, who, for covetousness of the little space of ground they stood upon, buried them for the most part in the ground." It does not appear, however, that since Stukeley's visit in 1723, a single stone has been removed. Would that the same veneration had been displayed towards the temple and its precincts at Abury, where a wanton destruction of the stones was unceasingly carried on during the whole of the eighteenth century,—a destruction which the antiquary can never sufficiently deplore.

. It is remarkable that the celebrity of the three great monuments of antiquity in the south and west of England, Stonehenge, Abury, and Stanton Drew, should have been in an inverse ratio to the extent of ground which they respectively cover. The smallest of them, Stonehenge, was treated of by Henry of Huntingdon, 700 years ago ; the next in size, Stanton Drew, although undescribed previous to the latter part of the seventeenth century, was nevertheless better known for many years than Abury, the grandest and most considerable of them all. The indefatigable John Aubrey was the first who brought both Abury and Stanton Drew into notice. The former he stumbled upon when hunting in 1648, the latter he visited in 1664. The account he gives of Stanton Drew is very scanty, and his sketch of it in the "Monumenta Britannica" far from intelligible. He says,— "When I last saw it, it was in harvest time, and the barley being then ripe, I could not come to survey the stones so exactly as I would otherwise have done." It may, in part,

be attributed to this cause, and in part to the intersection of the great circle at that time by hedges, that his "scheme," as he calls it, is so unlike anything now to be seen at Stanton Drew.

Dr. Musgrave, in his "*Belgium Britannicum*," 1719 (vol. i. p. 206, &c.), gives an account of Stanton Drew, derived from Mr. Palmer, of Fairfield. It is illustrated by an interesting and apparently very accurate plate of the work as it then stood; and it is curious that one more recumbent stone should be now visible in the great circle than when Mr. Palmer described it.

Keysler, in his "*Antiquitates Septentrionales*," 1720, gives a short account of Stanton Drew, for which he was indebted to another Somersetshire gentleman, Mr. Strachey; but it is curious that neither Mr. Aubrey, Mr. Palmer, nor Mr. Strachey, appears to have been aware of the existence of The Cove, or of the circle which is near it, their descriptions being confined to the portions of the work in the field nearest to the river.

Dr. Stukeley, who bestowed so much pains upon the elucidation of Stonehenge and Abury, visited Stanton Drew in 1723. His account of it was printed in the second volume of the "*Itinerarium Curiosum*," published in 1776, eleven years after his death.

Wood, the architect of Bath, in his history of that city, published in 1749, runs riot in his usual style about Stanton Drew. Collinson describes it briefly in his history of Somerset, published in 1791; and Mr. Seyer, in his "*History of Bristol*," 1821, has a more detailed account of it, with measurements of the stones, and lithographic illustrations of their form and character. The plan of Stanton Drew, which may be implicitly relied on, is that published by Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his "*Modern Wiltshire*," from a survey by Mr. Crocker, and a copy of which illustrates the present paper.

We will first direct our attention to the three stones in the orchard on the higher ground to the south of the church, and which form what Stukeley called The Cove. The two side stones are standing, and that which formed the back is fallen down. These three stones are 18 inches thick; the prostrate one, of which, perhaps, 2 feet were under ground, is, according to Collinson, 14 feet long, and

8 feet wide ; the taller of the two which are upright is 10 feet high and $6\frac{1}{2}$ in width ; the other is only 5 feet high. Stukeley makes the recumbent stone "13 foot long, and 8 broad." Seyer says it is 13 feet long, and that the south-western of the standing stones is 11 feet high. "Whether it was once higher, which is probable, cannot be ascertained." The Cove is 10 feet wide, and about 8 deep, and opens to the south-east. The best print I have seen of it is that given by Stukeley in the *Itinerarium Curiosum*.

At a distance of 157 yards from this Cove, in an easterly direction, are the remains of a circle of stones of 120 feet diameter according to Stukeley, of 140 according to Wood, and of 129 according to Crocker. The number of stones appears to have been originally twelve. There are now remaining, in the orchard 6 ; in the adjoining field 3 ; and there is one under the wall which separates the orchard from the field. They are very rude and irregular in shape. The largest of them, according to Mr. Seyer's measurement, is 10 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 2 feet thick ; the next in position to this one is also the next in size, and is 8 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 2 feet thick. They are almost all prostrate, and some of them are nearly buried in the ground. Stukeley says, "This I call the Lunar Temple. This circle is the same diameter and number of stones with the inner circles of the two temples at Abury."

At a distance of 150 yards from this circle in a north-easterly direction, is the circumference of the largest of the Stanton Drew circles. The diameter of it, according to Stukeley and Collinson, is 300 feet, according to Wood 378 feet, and according to Seyer 342 feet. Mr. Crocker makes it an oval, with a diameter from west to east of 345 feet, and from north to south of 378 feet. It may here be remarked, that the diameter of Stonehenge is about 100 feet, and that of the large circle at Abury about 1200 feet. The number of stones remaining is 14, of which 3 only are standing ; others, it is said, are beneath the surface, and make known their position from time to time by the burnt appearance of the grass above them in hot summers. There is great difference of opinion respecting the number of stones of which this circle was originally composed. Dr. Musgrave and Keysler thought that there had been 32 stones, Stukeley supposed that there had been "30 set at

the distance of 30 foot." The tallest of the standing stones is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and about 6 feet thick, and the largest prostrate stone is 11 feet in length, 9 in width, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in thickness. They are all of a rude and uncouth appearance. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1785 (vol. lv. p. 762), makes two intersecting circles out of these stones, but there can scarcely be a doubt that those who brought them there intended to group them into one circle, and one only.

Eastward from the great circle, at a distance of 150 feet, is a circle of eight stones, and this is the most imposing portion of the whole work. Its diameter is 96 feet. All the stones but one are represented as being erect in the plate in Musgrave's "*Belgium Britannicum*;" four only are now upright, the other four being prostrate. Most of them are square and massive. The tallest of those which are upright is $12\frac{1}{2}$ feet in perpendicular height; another is 10 feet high and $7\frac{1}{2}$ square. The largest recumbent stone is $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and 5 feet square. It is supposed that the fragments of stone on the east side were occasioned by the fracture of one of them in falling, but it is more probable from their appearance and size that, as Stukeley says, there were nine stones, "two of which are crowded together and set at an angle a little obtuse, so that they form a niche or cove." Adjoining this circle on the east and south are seven scattered stones, which have given rise to a great deal of conjecture. Musgrave considered that these and the other five stones between "the circle of eight" and the great circle, had contributed to the formation of an outer circle to "the circle of eight," and that of this circle some stones had been removed from their places, while others had been taken away for building and other purposes. Keysler supposed that there had been here three circles. Stukeley maintains that these stones were portions of five concentric circles, of which "the circle of eight," or as he has it, of nine, was the innermost. Wood is also an advocate for five concentric circles, though of different dimensions from those conjectured by Stukeley. The writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, before referred to, with more discretion than imagination, contents himself with printing upon his engraved plan, "There are seven stones to the E. southerly of this small temple of which I can make nothing." Seyer says truly, with respect to the supposed concentric circles,

"The number of stones required to fill up such circles would be very great, and there are no traces of them." The generally received opinion respecting these twelve stones is that they formed a sharply curving avenue which connected the "circle of eight" with the large circle.

The outermost of these stones were vulgarly called "the Fiddlers," the others, "the Maids," or "the revel rout attendant on a marriage festival," and the whole work "the Weddings," for "the people of this country," says Stukeley, "have a notion, that upon a time a couple were married on a Sunday, and the friends and guests were so profane as to dance upon the green together, and by a divine judgment were then converted into stones." . . . "I have observed," he adds, "that this notion and appellation of Weddings, Brides, and the like, is not peculiar to this place, but applied to many other of these Celtic monuments about the kingdom, as the 'Nine Maids' in Cornwall—nine great stones set all in a row;¹ whence possibly one may conjecture in very ancient times it was a custom here, even of the Christians, to solemnize marriage and other holy rites in these ancient temples, perhaps before churches were built in little parishes, and even now they retain, or very lately did, in Scotland, a custom of burying people in the like temples, as judging them holy ground." "No one, say the country people about Stantondrue, was ever able to reckon the number of these metamorphosed stones, or to take a draught of them, though several have attempted to do both, and proceeded till they were either struck dead upon the spot, or with such an illness as soon carried them off. This," says Wood, "was seriously told me when I began to take a plan of them, on the 12th of August, 1740, to deter me from proceeding, and as a storm accidentally arose just after, and blew down part of a great tree near the body of the work, the people were then thoroughly satisfied that I had disturbed the guardian spirits of the metamorphosed stones, and from thence great pains were taken to convince me of the impiety of what I was about." (Description of Bath, vol. i. p. 148.)

Dr. Stukeley considered that "the great plain (as he calls it) in the middle of the area was convenient for the works of sacrificing, and after for feastings, wrestling, coyting, and the

¹ Stukeley might have specified the "Nine Ladies" in Derbyshire, and "Long Meg and her Daughters" in Cumberland.

like ;" and that "the fine lawn on the south side, together with the interval northward between it and the river," had been a cursus for races of horses, chariots, and the like, in old British times.

Collinson was of opinion that there had been avenues to the great circle, and that the large stone north-east from it on the other side of the river had served as part of a portal to one of them. Stukeley, however, did not believe that there had ever been any avenue to this work. Of the celebrated stone just mentioned, Aubrey gives the following account: "About a quarter of a mile from this monument of the Wedding is a stone called Hakewell's Coyte, which is a great roundish stone, of the shape of a coyte; length of it is 10 feet 16 (*sic*) inches, broad 6 feet 6 inches, thick 1 foot 10 inches, and lies flatt, and seems to have been left: it is of the same sort of stone with those at the Wedding. This is not erect as they of Stoneheng, &c. The common people tell this incredible story, that Hakewell stood upon the top of Norton Hill, about half a mile off where the coyte now lies, and coyted it down to this place; for which having the Manor of Norton given him, and thinking it too little, did give it the name of Norton-mal-reward, which they pronounce Small-reward. That in these parts anciently was one Hakewell, a person of great estate and strength of body, is manifest by the figure in his monument in Chew Church."

Stukeley measured this stone, which he calls a hard reddish stone, and found it to be 13 feet long, 8 broad and 4 thick. Collinson says that "it was computed to have weighed upwards of thirty tons; but the waggon loads of fragments that have been broken from it at different times for the purpose of mending the roads, have diminished its consequence as to bulk and appearance, though not as to antiquity or the design of its erection; for it was part of a very remarkable monument of antiquity which has distinguished this parish for many ages, and has diverted the steps of many a traveller."

The Hakewell who performed the feat above-mentioned, and who is vulgarly supposed to have had his abode on Maesknoll (where traces of his occupation remain in the tump which is said to have been formed of the scrapings of his spade), was Sir John Hautville, who lived at Norton in the

time of Henry III., and was engaged in all the wars of that prince, and was signed with the cross in order to his going to the Holy Land with Prince Edward. When Norton Church was destroyed, his monument, with his effigy cut in wood, was removed to the church of Chew Magna.²

In the opposite direction and to the north-westward of The Cove, are two stones lying in a field called Lower Tynning. Seyer mentions that it is said by the neighbours that other stones lie unnoticed in unfrequented parts of the parish.

Among the many questions to which Stanton Drew has given rise, one of the most debated is the geological character of the stones of which the circles are composed. Aubrey says, "They seem to be of the very same stone as St. Vincent's rocks near Bristow, about six miles hence. They are of several tunnes : in some of them is iron-oare, as likewise appears at St. Vincent's rocks." Musgrave writes that they are of that kind of stone which contains pyrites, and is very plentiful in that district. Stukeley says, "The stone it is composed of, is of such a kind as I have not elsewhere seen ; certainly entirely different from that of the country, which is a slab kind. If any stone ever was, this would tempt one to think it factitious, though I think nothing less : it looks like a paste, of flints, shells, crystals, and the like solid corpuscles crowded together and cemented, but infallibly by Nature's artifice. If I have any judgment, by oft-surveying these kind of works, and with a nice eye, I guess by its present appearance, and consideration of its wear, to be older than Abury and Stonehenge. One would think, from its dusky and rusty colour, that it is a kind of iron stone : it is very full of fluors and transparent crystallisations, like Bristol stones, large, and in great lumps ; so that it shines eminently, and reflects the sun-beams with great lustre. I cannot but think that it is brought from St. Vincent's rock, near the mouth of Bristol river, as Mr. Aubrey says expressly ; though Mr. Strachey, who has curiously observed everything of this kind, cannot affirm it. I found some stone, like this, by the sea-side, this summer, at Southampton ; and the walls of the town are mostly built of it." He thinks that they had not been "hewn with a tool, but rather broke by flints and a great strength of hand in those early ages, when iron tools were

² See Mr. Walford's Memoir on this effigy, *Archaeol. Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 158.

not found out." Wood writes, "The predominant colour of that part of the stone in the works at Stanton Drue, supposed to have been taken from Oaky Hole, is red ; and it is so exceeding hard, that it will polish almost as well as some of the purple Italian marble, and is as beautiful : the other stone is of two colours, white and grey ; the white stone seems to have been the produce of Dundry Hill, but the grey stone resembles the sand rocks about Stanton Drue, and seems to have been taken from them." To Collinson they appeared to be "a composition of pebbles, grit, and other concrete matter, and never to have been hewn from the rock." Phelps, in his "History of Somerset," says, "These huge masses were supposed to have been brought from East Harptree, near the Mendip Hills, where stones of a similar quality (a shelly chert or conglomerate of calcareo-magnesian limestone) are to be found ; but upon a more accurate examination of the strata of the vicinity, it seems they were raised near the spot on which they stand, from a stratum about six feet under the surface," (Part i. p. 78.) Mr. Charles Moore, F.G.S., whose reputation as a geologist is not confined to Somersetshire, has kindly furnished me with the following notice of the geology of the district in connection with these stones.

"The village of Stanton Drew is situated in a depression of country well known to geologists as the Bristol Coal Basin, and though from its smaller size it does not possess the same commercial importance as the Welsh or Northern coal fields, the proximity of so valuable a mineral has been the means of adding much to our domestic comforts.

"The area of this coal field is bounded on the south by the Mendip Hills, the central axis of which is the old red sandstone. Resting on this appear beds of carboniferous or mountain limestone. These may be again seen on the outer edge of the basin in the hills of Wrington, Backwell, and Durdham Down, near Bristol. Its northern development is clearly shown by a narrow strip of the same limestone, which commencing near Almondsbury passes to Cromhall in Gloucestershire, and returns on the eastern side south to Chipping Sodbury. From this point, the limestones are in general covered by later deposits, but they are protruded through the lias at Dodington, and at Wick Rocks, and are lastly seen near the Druids' Stones under Lansdown, from

whence they probably pass below Bath to complete their encirclement of the Basin to Frome.

"These limestones were once horizontal strata, but are now much fissured and disturbed, evidences of which are everywhere observable, but especially in the beautiful Combes of Ebber, Cheddar, and Cleve, and the gorge of the Avon at Clifton. Volcanic action is the only cause sufficient to account for their appearance, and of this there is proof in the Combes of Cleve and Cross, near Wrington, where molten trap has been projected through the limestones, and has spread itself over the surface ; and again near Tortworth in Gloucestershire.

"Within the area I have described, and lying upon these limestones, occur the coal measures. They have been worked at Stanton Drew, and are at the surface about a mile east of this village. They are also so found at Compton Dando, Publow, and Pensford, and again at Clutton, High Littleton, and near Mells.

"Though the area where the coal-measures come to the surface in the neighbourhood is small, it is probable they may be found by sinking over the greater part of the Basin. In the instance of the Clan Down pit, workings were commenced in the inferior oolite, and coal found at a depth of 202 fathoms.

"The new red sandstone covers the greater part of the coal-measures on this side of Bristol, and is the formation on which Stanton Drew stands.

"The lower beds of this group show that after the deposition of the carboniferous system, great disturbances must have arisen ; for almost everywhere on the sides of the Mendips, and filling up many of its fissures, are accumulations of a pebbly breccia, cemented together by magnesian limestone. These beds are called Dolomitic Conglomerate. The nearest point at which this conglomerate is found, is at Broadfield Down, about three miles west of Stanton Drew.

"Dr. Buckland, in his observations on the South-west coal field of England, refers to a peculiar cherty conglomerate, which he states is found at East Harptree, belonging to the dolomitic conglomerate ; and he also mentions that there are in that neighbourhood smaller cherty pebbles distributed over the surface. Phelps alludes to the idea that these blocks originally came from Harptree, but that on a more

accurate examination of the vicinity of Stanton Drew, it is probable they were raised near the spot on which they stand, from a stratum about six feet under the surface. I have lately observed numerous pebbles of chert distributed over the surface in this neighbourhood, as at Harptree, and though I have had no opportunity of testing the correctness of Mr. Phelps's conclusions,—as the geological position of the conglomerates would be not far beneath where the stones now stand, it is probable he may be correct. Great mechanical power must have been needed to have transported them from Harptree, a supposition not to be entertained when the same rocks are found within a distance of three miles. Most of the blocks are composed of this conglomerate, which has been slightly coloured by red oxide of iron, but there are others of a much finer grain, and were these found in Wiltshire, they might readily be mistaken for 'Sarsen Stones.' These appear to be derived from the carboniferous grits of the immediate neighbourhood.

"To complete this imperfect sketch of the geological features of the district, I have only to add, that directly to the north in ascending the hill to Dundry, the lower lias may be seen resting upon the new red sandstone; further up the hill are the middle and upper lias, of no commercial importance, but which, in Yorkshire, though in appearance nothing but an ordinary sandstone, last year yielded a million tons of valuable ironstone. On the summit appears the inferior oolite, through which, on the eastern end, the Wansdyke has been cut, and on which stand the ancient remains of Maes Knowl."

The name of this place, Stanton Drew, has given rise to much discussion; some, as Keyser, Collinson, and others, being of opinion that the word Drew had been appended to Stanton, to denote that it was the Stanton of which the family of Drogo or Drew were once the lords; while others, with Stukeley, attribute the name to the Druidical worship which was supposed to have been there celebrated. Stukeley writes, "I make no doubt but the name of Stanton Drue is derived from our monument: Stanton from the stone, and Drue from the Druids. It moves not me, that some of the name of Drew might have lived here formerly; for such a family might take the denomination of the town, and leaving out the first part, retain only that of Drew. It is sufficient

conviction, that there are so many other towns in England and elsewhere that have preserved this name, and all remarkable for monuments of (this) nature." Collinson, on the other hand, says, that "about the time of the Norman Conquest, great part of the place began to be possessed by a family who derived their names from it; of whom were Roger, William and Hugh de Stanton, who all possessed it, or at least a considerable part of it, soon after the arrival of the Normans. Robert de Stanton accounted for two knights' fees in the time of Henry II., and after him came Gefferey de Stanton, who had lands in Timsborough, Stowey, and other places in this neighbourhood, 8 Henry III. One of this family bore the appellation of Drogo or Drew, de Stanton, and gave it his name by way of distinction from another parish in this neighbourhood, called Stanton Prior, and from Stanton Wick, a hamlet in this parish. Their descendants were chiefly resident here and at Littleton, in Wiltshire. 12 Edw. III. Walter Drew is certified to hold half a knight's fee in Stanton, which William de Stanton formerly held; and 10 Henry IV., the same moiety, late the property of Roger Drew, was held by John de Montacute, Earl of Salisbury. These Drews were nearly allied to the Dinhams of Buckland and Corton." There can be little doubt that Collinson is right in his opinion. In the Anglo-Saxon Charters and in Domesday Book the Stantons are *Stantunes* only, and any affix to their names must have been of subsequent date. In the Anglo-Norman history of Ordericus Vitalis, four Drogos are mentioned, and among them was a Drogo, otherwise Dreux, of the celebrated Norman family of Hauteville, one of the twelve sons of Tancred de Hauteville, who conquered the south of Italy in the early part of the eleventh century. Is it not probable that it was from one of this branch that the name of Hauteville became appended to that of Norton, and the name of Dreux to Stanton, which was contiguous to it, and in which also it is very likely that he may have been a large proprietor?

I will now briefly notice the different opinions which have been propounded by different persons respecting the objects for which the circles at Stanton Drew were constructed; and here we pass entirely into the regions of conjecture and uncertainty. Stanton Drew is as little likely to give up its

secret as Abury or Stonehenge, and we must not expect that it will ever be granted to any inhabitant of this present earth to unlock the riddle and interpret its dark sayings. I will give the results of such gropings for the light in respect to it as have come under my notice. The first that I can find who has offered an opinion respecting Stanton Drew is the anonymous author of "A Fool's bolt soon shott at Stonage," which was published by Hearne from a MS. lent him by Mr. James West of Balliol College in 1722, and which bears evidence of having been written about the end of the seventeenth century. He says, "This was an old British Trophie, as may appear by the name thereof, reteined still in the name of the parrish in which it stands, viz., Stanton Dru, the *stone Town of Victorie*:—2, by the smaller stones, monuments of the Conquerour's friends (*sic*) their slain, one of which being lately fallen in the Pitt, in which it stood, were found the crumbes of a man's bones, and a round bell, like a large horse bell, with a skrew as the stemme of it; whence I conjecture, that as the circle of large stones was the Trophie of Victorie, so those smaller were monuments of friends slain in winning the Victorie (for Victors would not honour their enemies with such monuments), and the bell was part of an old Briton's weapon, there buried with its owner, and I suppose, the like bones and bells may be found under the other small stones, confirming the præmises. For Mr. Speed, in his Chronicle, pictureth an old Briton naked, Lions, Beares, Serpents painted on him to terrifie enemies, with a lance in his hand, and on the butt end whereof is such a bell screwed fast, which served in steade of a Trumpett to alarme, and a clubb to dash out the enemies braines, and this bell was, I suppose, the permanent part of that old Briton's weapon there buried with its owner, according to the old custome, continued to this day, in burying souldiers weapons with them, at least in carrying them on their coffins to their graves."

Dr. Musgrave believed the stones to have been the supporting portions of enclosures, within each of which, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans, a body was interred; time had destroyed the less durable materials, and had left only the stones. Although, from the total silence of the Greeks and Romans respecting them, the monuments of this character were to be considered as of post-Roman date,

he was nevertheless willing to allow that this one might possibly have been erected before the arrival of the Belgæ.

According to Dr. Stukeley's opinion, these are the temples of the Gods, made by our British predecessors ; the sun being represented by the large circle of thirty, and the moon by the circle of twelve stones ; the quincuple circle he supposes consecrate to the five lesser planets ; and the Cove to have appertained to the service of the Goddess of the Earth. He considered that as Stonehenge was an improvement upon Abury, so Abury was executed upon a grander plan taken from this or some such like, and that there was a conformity between them, although Abury is a vastly more extensive and magnificent design. He nevertheless in no way connects Stanton Drew with the form and veneration of the Serpent, although he attaches so much importance to that theory in relation to the temple at Abury.

Wood maintained that the works of Stanton Drew formed a perfect model of the Pythagorean System of the Planetary World, and that in this model the large circle represented the earth, the circle of twelve stones the sun, and the circle of eight the moon.

The writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* supposes this structure to be a Bethel, or temple erected in the patriarchal manner of unhewn stones, to the Supreme Being worshipped in the sun, as the visible emblem of that which is invisible.

Mr. Edward King, in his *Munimenta Antiqua* (vol. i., p. 141), observes, "The circles at Stanton Drew seem to have been designed for astronomical observations, and for superstitious rites conjointly."

Collinson suggests that it was a trophy intended to commemorate some signal victory obtained on the Wansdyke, where so much blood was shed by the arms of Britons and Celtic barbarians.

Seyer considered that the objects for which temples of this kind were built were "for the united purposes of religion, law, and government." "They were not raised," he says, "without a prodigious expense of labour, perhaps the personal exertions of the whole tribe ; and, therefore, it must have been for some purpose interesting to the whole nation ; and such, religion, law, and government, will always be. That these places were the residence of the Druids, the name of Stanton Drew, and others, is

sufficient proof ; and we know that they were the priests, the legislators, and the judges of the nation, and controuled even the kings. It is, therefore, almost certain, that the village of Stanton Drew was in some sense the metropolis, or seat of government of the Hædui ; and that it, and perhaps others in its immediate neighbourhood, were inhabited exclusively by Druids, some of whom went every day and sat in the cove or within the circle, to decide the suits and complaints brought before them ; others instructed the youth ; and others offered up the daily sacrifices. On stated days probably there was an assembly within the circles of all the men of property belonging to the tribe (the Hædui), where peace and war, taxation, succession to the lands and to the throne, and other national affairs were settled, still under the superintendence of the Druids ; and the circles being placed on an easy and pleasant knoll in a valley surrounded by hills, whatever was done might be seen by the whole assembled tribe."

The Rev. William Lisle Bowles thought that Stanton Drew was a temple of the Druids, dedicated to the Teutates of the Celts, who was the same with the Egyptian Thoth, the Phœnician Taute, the Grecian Hermes, and the Roman Mercury.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare pronounced this work to be a Dracontium, and in this he was followed by Mr. Bathurst Deane, who writes as follows :—" This temple, which is much dilapidated, originally consisted of one large circle connected by avenues with two smaller, and thus described the second order of the Ophite hierogram—the circle and *two* serpents. In Egyptian hieroglyphics, when two serpents are seen in connection, one typifies the Good and the other the Evil Principle." Mr. Deane admits, however, that he could trace no avenue between the circle of twelve stones and the large circle. He confirms his opinion of its Dracontian character by " a tradition of the neighbourhood, by which it appears that Keyna, the daughter of a Welch prince, who lived in the fifth century, having left her country and crossed the Severn for the purpose of finding some secluded spot, where she might devote herself without interruption to religious contemplations, arrived in the neighbourhood of Stanton Drew. She requested permission from the prince of the country to fix her residence at Keynsham, which was

then an uncleared wood. The prince replied that he would readily give the permission required ; but it was impossible for any one to live in that place on account of *the serpents*, of the most venomous species, which infested it. Keyna, however, confident in her saintly gifts, accepted the permission, notwithstanding the warning : and taking possession of the wood, "converted by her prayers all the snakes and vipers of the place into stones. And to this day," remarks Capgrave, the recorder of the legend, "the stones in that country resemble the windings of serpents, through all the fields and villages, as if they had been so formed by the hand of the engraver." Mr. Deane goes on to remark, "The transformation of the *serpents* into *stone* is the fable which almost always denotes the neighbourhood of a Dracontium, as we may see in the legend of Cadmus and Harmonia, Python, and others. The remark of Capgrave may allude to the *anguina*, or serpent-stones, so often found in the vicinity of Druidical temples : or even to the specimens of the Cornua Ammonis, which I believe are sometimes found in the neighbourhood." ("Worship of the Serpent," p. 383, &c.)

The discussion of these theories forms no part of the object of this paper, but I will venture to remark with reference to the design of this structure, that we may not unreasonably regard it as having been set up for a religious purpose ; but whether it was the work of a primeval and pre-historic race, or of the Belgæ, who subdued or expelled them, and of whom traces are supposed to remain in the name of the neighbouring manor of "*Belgetune*," or Belluton, will be a subject of controversy to the end of time.

Stukeley, fresh from the Downs of Wiltshire, wondered that he observed no tumuli or barrows, the burying-places of the people about it, as in other cases, but supposed this owing to the goodness of the soil ; for, as he goes on to say, "they wisely pitched upon barren ground to repose their ashes, where they could only hope to lie undisturbed : and on Mendip Hills, not far off, they are very numerous. This particularly I am told of seven that are remarkable." The group to which Stukeley alludes is most probably one of two on Priddy Hill, of which one is formed of nine, and the other of seven barrows. Many others, however, are to be seen on the Mendip range. The Priddy barrows were

examined by the late Rev. John Skinner, in 1815, and in all cases in which the interment was found, cremation appears to have prevailed. In some the ashes were found in urns, in others without urns in cists, or on flat stones without cists. The urns were rude and unbaked, with the zigzag ornament, and usually reversed. One of them was embossed with projecting knobs, like that which was disinterred by Sir R. C. Hoare from a tumulus on Beckhampton Down. The following articles were also discovered : amber beads and a small blue opaque glass bead with them, perforated ; brazen (bronze) spear heads ; flint and brazen (bronze) arrow-heads ; and an ivory pin, upwards of 4 inches long. These barrows are of different sizes, the highest being 12 feet high, and 164 in circumference. The Mendip Mines were doubtless extensively worked by our British forefathers, and a considerable trade in metals must have been carried on by them with foreign nations.

The chambered tumulus at Butcombe, about three miles from Stanton Drew, must also be noticed, inasmuch as it has been supposed by some to have been the sepulchre of the Druids attached to the Stanton Temple. "This barrow," says the Rev. Thomas Bere, rector of Butcombe, in his communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1789, "is from north to south 150 feet, and from east to west 75 feet." It was found to contain a longitudinal stone chamber with lateral cells, similar to that at New Grange, near Drogheda, and to the chambered barrows at Wellow, in Somersetshire, a few miles only from Stanton Drew, and at Uley, in Gloucestershire.³ A perfect skeleton, several human skulls, and other bones were discovered within it ; but it is supposed to have been previously opened. It is now entirely destroyed.

WILLIAM LONG.

³ See Dr. Thurnam's Memoir on the examination of the chambered tumuli at Uley, *Archaeological Journal*, vol. xi. p. 315.

The Central Committee acknowledge with gratification the kindness of Mr. Long in presenting to the Institute the Plan by which the foregoing Memoir is illustrated.

NOTICES OF ANCIENT AND MEDÆVAL LABYRINTHS.

THE Labyrinths of the classical age and the quaint devices of later times, the Mazes, of which they were the prototypes, present to the archaeologist a subject of investigation which hitherto has not received that degree of attention of which it appears so well deserving. I hope therefore that the following observations may meet with a favourable reception, not only as connected with our early studies of classical antiquity, but as illustrative of certain remarkable ecclesiastical usages in the Middle Ages, and possibly as recalling certain pleasurable reminiscences of gay disports or rural revelries associated with the Maze of more recent times, of which the latest and most familiar example is the verdant puzzle at Hampton Court.

Labyrinths may be divided into several distinct classes, comprising complicated ranges of caverns, architectural labyrinths or sepulchral buildings, tortuous devices indicated by coloured marbles or cut in turf, and topiary labyrinths or mazes formed by clipped hedges. I need scarcely observe that labyrinths are of exceedingly ancient origin, or that they have been used for the most varied purposes, viz., as catacombs for the burial of the dead, as prisons, as a means of performing penance, and as portions of pleasure-grounds.

Of the first class we may instance the labyrinth near Nauplia in Argolis, termed that of the Cyclops, and described by Strabo ;¹ also the celebrated Cretan example, which from the observations of modern travellers is supposed to have consisted of a series of caves, resembling in some degree the catacombs of Rome or Paris. It has been questioned, however, whether such a labyrinth actually existed. Apollodorus and others state that it was built by Dædalus, near Cnossus,² in imitation of a more ancient labyrinth in Egypt, by the command of King Minos, and that it served first as

¹ Strabo, viii. 6, p. 369.

² The labyrinth, in various forms, occurs on the reverses of coins of Cnossus.

Montf. Ant. Exp., t. ii. pl. xii. ; Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography, and Eckhel.

the prison of the monster Minotaur, and secondly as an architectural web wherein to enclose Dædalus himself, whence he was enabled to escape by the aid of artificial wings, the poetical representatives of sails, whose first use has been assigned to him. Ovid and Virgil, however, have both referred to the Cretan labyrinth as an architectural work :—

Dædalus ingenio fabræ celeberrimus artis
Ponit opus, turbatque notas, et lumina flexum
Ducit in errorem variarum ambage viarum.—

OVID. *Met.* viii., v. 159.

Ut quondam Cretâ fertur Labyrinthus in altâ
Parietibus textum cæcis iter, ancipitemque
Mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa sequendi
Falleret indeprensus et inremabilis error.—

ÆNEID, *Lib.* v., v. 588.

Of architectural labyrinths, the most extraordinary specimen was without doubt that at the southern end of the lake Mœris in Egypt, and about thirty miles from Arsinoe. Herodotus, who describes it very distinctly, says that none of the edifices of Greece could be compared with it either as to costliness or workmanship; that it consisted of twelve covered courts, 1500 subterranean chambers, in which the bodies of the Egyptian princes and the sacred crocodiles were interred, and of as many chambers above ground, which last only he was permitted to enter. He states that each court was surrounded by a colonnade of white stone beautifully built, that the walls were ornamented with bas-reliefs of various animals, that a lofty pyramid, 300 feet high, was raised at the angle where the labyrinth terminated, and that the whole work was encircled by a continuous wall. Pliny, Strabo, and Pomponius Mela, have also described this celebrated labyrinth, but they differ both as to the date of its construction and the purpose for which it was intended. Another labyrinth, built by the Æginetan architect, Smilis, in the island of Lemnos, was celebrated for the beauty of its columns, according to Pliny, who also alludes to one built by Theodorus at Samos.³ The last example we may mention as belonging to this architectural class, intended, like the Pyramids of Egypt, to form a royal sepulchre capable of repelling the curiosity or acquisitive propensities of intruders,

³ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. c. 13.

was that built at Clusium, the modern Chiusi, in Etruria, by Lar Porsena, the noble, but baffled, foe of Rome ; it is described by Pliny and Varro.

The Cretan Labyrinth is found on the reverses of coins of Cnossus, as also on Greek and Roman gems,⁴ or at least what had become its conventional design, and it was occasionally represented upon the mosaic pavements of Roman halls. One specimen was drawn by Casanova at Pompeii, whose sinuous course, designated by coloured marbles, was surrounded by an embattled wall, strengthened at intervals by towers ; and the design of another was found in the same city, scratched with a stylus upon a crimson-tinted column, accompanied by this inscription,—“*Labyrinthus hic habitat Minotaurus,*” a classical euphuism, we presume, for “*Here lives a great beast.*”⁵

But perhaps the most surprising fact connected with the mythological labyrinth is its acceptance by Christians, and its adaptation by the Church to a higher signification than it originally bore. First, it was used as an ornament on one of the state robes of the Christian emperors previously to the ninth century. In the “*Graphia aureæ urbis Romæ,*” published by A. F. Ozanam, pp. 92 and 178, in the “*Documents inédits pour servir à l’Histoire Littéraire de l’Italie,*” this rule regarding the emperor’s dress is given,—“*Habeat et in diarodino laberinthum fabrefactum ex auro et margaritis, in quo sit Minotaurus digitum ad os tenens ex smaragdo factus ; quia sicut non valet quis laberinthum scrutare, ita non debet consilium dominatoris propalare.*” Next, it was adopted in all its details, including the Minotaur, by ecclesiastics, and was portrayed in churches. A design of this character still exists upon one of the porch piers of Lucca Cathedral, having the following inscription. (Fig. 1.)

HIC QUEM CRETICUS EDIT DEDALUS EST LABERINTHUS,
DE QUO NULLUS VADERE QUIVIT QUI FUIT INTUS,
NI THESEUS GRATIS ADRIANE STAMINE JUTUS.

This is of small dimensions, being only 1 foot 7½ inches in diameter, and from the continual attrition it has received from thousands of tracing fingers, the central group of Theseus and the Minotaur has now been very nearly effaced.

⁴ Maffei, *Gemme Ant.* iv. No. 31.

⁵ Pompeii, par E. Breton, p. 303.

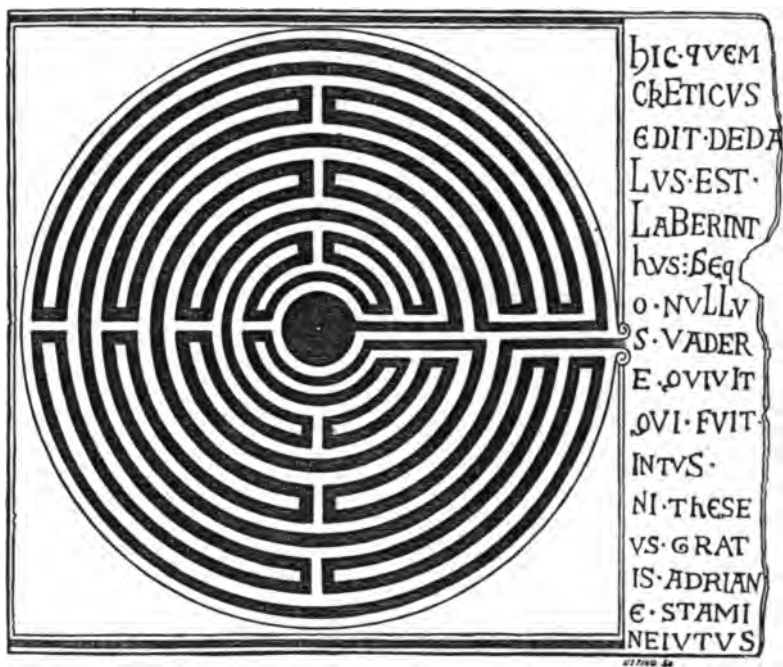


Fig. 1. LABYRINTH INCISED UPON ONE OF THE PORCH PIERS OF
LUCCA CATHEDRAL.

Diameter, 19½ inches

(FROM DIDRON'S ANNALES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES, TOME XVII.)

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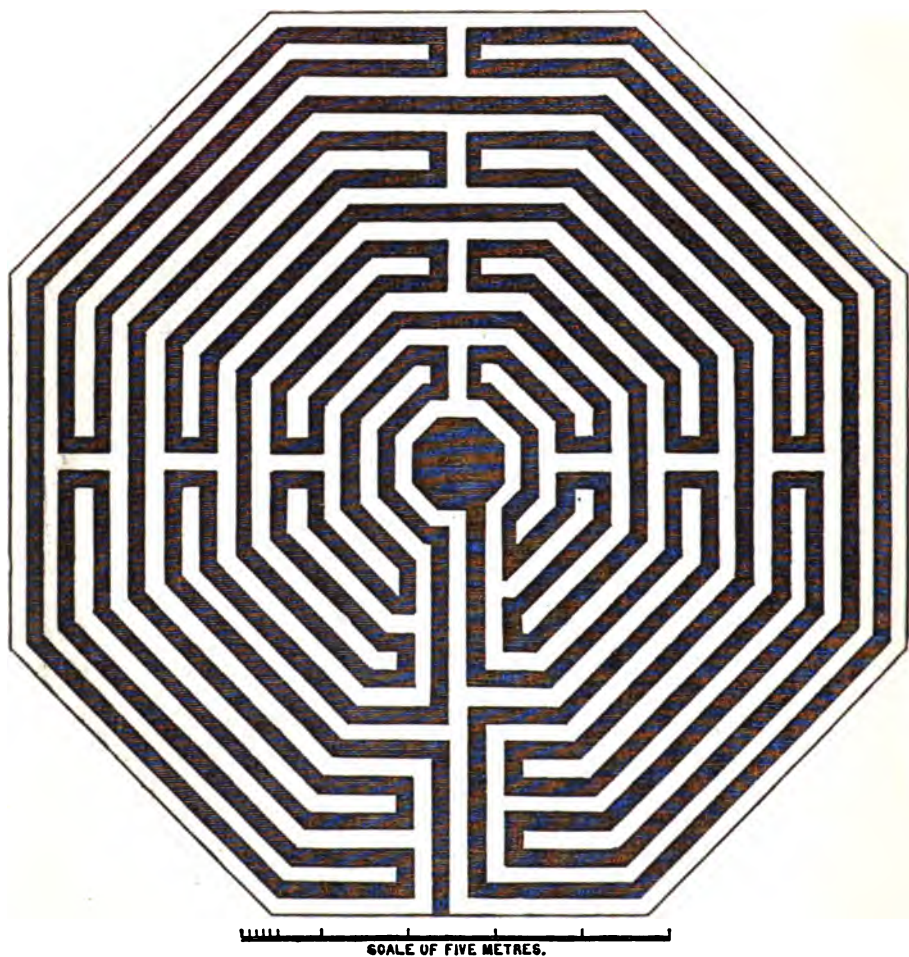


Fig. 2. LABYRINTHINE PAVEMENT AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. QUENTIN.

Diameter, 34½ feet.

(FROM WALLET'S DESCRIPTION D'UN PAVÉ MOSAÏQUE À ST. OMER.)

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The whole device was deemed to be indicative of the complicated folds of sin by which man is surrounded, and how impossible it would be to extricate himself from them except through the assisting hand of Providence. Similar small designs of labyrinths, containing the figures of Theseus and the Minotaur, either exist or did exist, in the very ancient church of St. Michele at Pavia; at Aix in Provence; upon the walls of Poitiers Cathedral; in the Roman mosaic pavement found at Salzburg, now at Lachsenburg, and nearly resembling the Pompeian example alluded to above, as does another of very early date, discovered in a mosaic pavement of a Christian Basilica at Orleansville in Algeria. In this last, however, the words, *SANCTA ECCLESIA*, arranged in a complicated form in the centre, so as to correspond with the sinuosity of the labyrinth around them, take the place of the Minotaur, affording the first instance of an entirely new signification attributed to such works, whilst their designs remained the same as before.

In the church of Santa Maria in Aquiro, at Rome, are several portions of an extremely ancient pavement, the relics of a far earlier building than the present church. Amongst these is a small labyrinth, 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, composed of porphyry and yellow and green marbles, the central circle being of the first-named material.⁶ Perhaps this is a work of the early part of the twelfth century, during which period such devices began to abound, and of these several are still preserved. One, 11 feet in diameter, exists near the sacristy of Santa Maria in Trastevere, at Rome, formed, in 1189, by a combination of different coloured marbles, and it is perhaps the most beautiful one still extant. Another, slightly larger, viz., 11 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, also composed of coloured marbles, is in the church of San Vitale, at Ravenna. An octagonal specimen, $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, is in the entrance of the parish church of St. Quentin, built during the twelfth century (fig. 2); and a precisely similar pavement was placed in the centre of Amiens Cathedral, in 1288, but of a rather larger size, measuring 42 feet across.⁷ It was destroyed in 1825, but its

⁶ This labyrinth is figured in M. Durand's memoir on "les Pavés Mosaïques," in Didron's *Annales Archéol.* vol. xvii., p. 119, with the other Italian examples here noticed.

⁷ Wallet, in his "Description d'une Crypte et d'un Pavé mosaïque de l'ancienne église de St. Bertin à Saint-Omer," Douai, 1843, p. 97, gives an account of the labyrinths in France, here

central compartment, still preserved in the Amiens Museum, consists of an octagonal grey marble slab, decorated with a brass or latten cross in the centre, between the limbs of which were ranged small figures of Evrart, Bishop of Amiens, the three architects of the cathedral, and four angels, cut in white marble, with a legend around the whole octagon, referring to the building of the fabric. Another labyrinth, 35 feet in diameter, and precisely like the foregoing, was constructed in the nave of Rheims Cathedral about 1240, but destroyed in 1779, by the desire of one of its canons, Jacquemart by name, who gave a considerable sum to effect this mischievous purpose. On its central stone were cut the figures of the architect and of the four masters of the works employed; this was also surrounded by a legend, like the Amiens labyrinth. An octagonal labyrinth, $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, composed of yellow and grey quarries, formed part of the pavement of the nave in Arras Cathedral, until the Revolution.

Before proceeding to instance more examples, we must here advert to another change in the signification of these curious works. The Church had adopted them as symbolical of herself; and when figures were designed in the centre of their manifold windings, such as those of deceased bishops, architects, or builders, ranged round a cross, instead of the actual words, *SANCTA ECCLESIA*, the same idea doubtless was intended to be conveyed, and the persons so represented were presumed to be resting in the bosom of the Church, as in an ark of salvation; but afterwards these labyrinths were made to serve another purpose, and received an entirely new name. This was when the period of the Crusades was drawing to a close, and when certain spots nearer home than Jerusalem began to be visited by pilgrims, instead of their actually resorting to Palestine; and a pilgrimage to our Lady of Loretto, to St. James of Compostella, or even to the shrine of St. Frideswide at Oxford, to that of St. Thomas of Canterbury or of St. Hugh of Lincoln, began to be looked upon as too great an exertion on the part of the faithful.

Then labyrinths became, as it is stated, instruments of performing penance for non-fulfilment of vows of pilgrimage to

enumerated, with representations of those at St. Quentin and Chartres, and of the central octagon of that at Amiens. See also notices of the Amiens pavement in

Daire, *Hist. de la Ville d'Amiens*, tom. ii., and the *Bulletin du Com. Hist.* No. x., p. 240.



Fig. 3. LABYRINTH IN THE NAVE OF CHARTRES CATHEDRAL.

Diameter, 30 feet.

(FROM WALLET'S DESCRIPTION D'UN PAVÉ MOSAÏQUE À ST OMER.)

[To face page 221.

the Holy Land, and were called "*Chemins de Jerusalem*," as being emblematical of the difficulties attending a journey to the real Jerusalem, or of those encountered by the Christian before he can reach the heavenly Jerusalem; whence the centre of these curious designs was not unfrequently termed "*Ciel*." And, finally, they were used as a means of penance for sins of omission and commission in general; penitents being ordered to follow out all the sinuous courses of these labyrinths upon their hands and knees, to repeat so many prayers at fixed stations, and others when they reached the central "*Ciel*," which in several cases took a whole hour to effect, whence these works, as stated by M. Wallet, were not unfrequently termed "*La lieue*." Unfortunately, many of them have now been destroyed, not a few wantonly during the Revolution, but others because strangers and children by noisily tracking out their tortuous paths, occasioned disturbance during divine service, as in the instance of the next example to which I shall allude. This is a square one, formerly in the Abbey Church of St. Bertin at St. Omer. The design is preserved by a drawing supposed to have been the work of some student of the English college at that town during the last century, having this inscription below, "*Entré du chemin de Jérusalem autre fois marqué sur le carreau de l'Eglise de St. Bertin*." It appears to have been composed of black and yellow tiles.⁸ A large circular labyrinth, composed of grey and white marble, having an scalloped border, and a sexagonal cusped circle in the centre, exists in the middle of the nave of Chartres Cathedral. (Fig. 3.) It is 30 feet in diameter, and its path is 668 feet long. At Sens there was another of the same size, formed by lines filled in with lead, and recorded to have required 2000 steps to reach the centre; and in the chapter house of Bayeux Cathedral is an exceedingly beautiful work of this description, 12 feet in diameter, formed of circles of tiles, adorned with shields, griffins, and fleurs-de-lis, and separated from one another by bands of small plain black tiles.

Occasionally something more than the actual path of the life present was attempted to be represented in these works. On a small labyrinth cut upon the pavement beneath the organ of the church of Notre Dame at St. Omer, the winding

⁸ Wallet, *Description*, *ut supra*, p. 97, where this pavement is figured. The labyrinth at Chartres is noticed by De Caumont in his "*Abecedaire*."

path towards the central Jerusalem is strangely mixed up with towns, rivers, mountains, and animals, intended probably to shadow forth the refreshments and the difficulties which all Christian pilgrims may expect to meet with on their journey through life towards that heavenly city which they are seeking. This is confirmed by the following inscription, once attached possibly to a labyrinthine design, and now preserved in the Museum of Lyons :—

HOC SPECULO · SPECULARE LEGENS · QUOD
 SIS MORITURUS : QUOD CINIS IMMO LUTUM
 QUOD VERMIBUS ESCA FUTURUS : SED TA
 MEN UT SEMPER VIVAS · MALE VIVERE VITA :
 XPM QUESO ROGA · SIT UT IN XPO MEA VITA :
 ME CAPUT APRIL' · EX HOC RAPUIT LABERINTO :
 PREBITUM · DOCEO VERSU MÂ FUNERA QŃTO :
 STEPHANUS · FECIT OC.⁹

Allegorical designs of spiritual labyrinths were in vogue until the third quarter of the last century : a long title to the following effect accompanies an engraving of one produced at Lyons in 1769, from a drawing by M. Belion :— A spiritual labyrinth watered by four channels of grace, representing, First, the four rivers of the terrestrial paradise and the happy condition of man before the Fall. Secondly, by the different windings that may be seen are intended to be shown the miseries with which human life abounds since the Fall. Thirdly, from this labyrinth, terminating at the same point where it commenced, we are taught that as man was formed of earth he will return to his first element by the corruption of his body. Fourthly, the wholesome water of these channels represents the grace of God, through which a remedy is supplied for a corrupted nature.

I am not aware of the existence of a single specimen of an ecclesiastical labyrinth in any church in England, but we possess numerous works of this description cut in the turf of our rural greens, and some are of the same patterns as those of the foreign examples mentioned above worked on pavements or walls. These turf-mazes have been usually termed "Troy-towns," or "Julian's Bowers," but improperly, because such names apparently point to a very remote, or at least to

⁹ See No. 273 in the Description du Musée Lapidaire de la Ville de Lyon, par le Dr. A. Comarmond.

a classical period, whereas the works so styled are without doubt mediæval.

The reign of Elizabeth was productive of a love for material subtilties, and for allegorical figures of speech, which, from that Queen's classical attainments, very usually took a classical form. "Troy-town," and all the difficulties of its capture, would then form a tempting subject for one of those embryo dramas so frequently enacted in her presence; whilst "Julian's Bower" would be an appropriate term for a court masque, in which a bevy of courtiers and fair dames, issuing from some verdant concealment, might affect to imitate the evolutions of the little Iulus and his companions in their martial sport, as described by Virgil,—

Inde alios ineunt cursus, aliosque recursus
Adversis spatiis, alternosque orbibus orbes
Impediunt, pugnaeque cient simulacra sub armis :
Et nunc terga fugâ nudant, nunc spicula vertunt
Infensi, factâ pariter nunc pace feruntur.—ÆN. Lib. v. 583.

Whence any complicated figures, either traced by the feet of dancers or cut on the ground, might possibly acquire a synonymous appellation during the reign of the great Tudor Queen, and retain it to the present time. This conventional term was a most unfortunate cause of delusive speculations to Stukeley, as he was thereby completely led off from the origin of such turf-mazes to pursue an illusion, with all the ardour of his vivid imagination, fully believing that he had discovered a still-existing Roman reminiscence on our British soil. He says, in reference to the frequent occurrence of places called Julian's Bower, or Troy-town, both at Roman towns and other localities, especially in Lincolnshire:—"Upon a little reflection I concluded that this is the ancient Roman game; and it is admirable that both name and thing should have continued through such a diversity of people. As to the name *Bower* it signifies not an arbour or pleasant shady retirement in this place; but *Borough*, or any work made with ramparts of earth, as camps and the like. . . . The name of *Julian* undoubtedly refers to *Iulus* the son of Æneas, who first brought it into Italy."¹ The continued study of archæology, however, now so widely pursued, and the easy means of travelling abroad as well as

¹ Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, Iter v. p. 97.

at home, have brought many hidden things to light which before were either obscure or entirely concealed; whilst truth, in many instances veiled with a fictitious covering of old, now stands revealed in all her natural purity.

Ancient turf-mazes either exist or are known to have existed in Scotland and Wales as well as in England, whilst shepherds and other persons are still in the habit of re-cutting these, or occasionally forming new ones, copied from more ancient designs, handed down from a remote period. Such works were to be seen in Strathmore and other parts of North Britain; they occurred likewise in Wales, where they were termed "*Caerdroia*," or Troy-walls, allusion to which is made in "*Drych y Prif Oesoedd*" and other Welsh histories, and they have been found in various localities throughout England, namely in the vicinity of the Solway, Cumberland;² at Ripon and Asenby in Yorkshire; at Alkborough, Louth, Appleby, and Horncastle in Lincolnshire; at Sneinton and Clifton in Notts; at Wing and Lyddington, in Rutland; on Boughton-Green, in Northamptonshire; at Comberton, Cambridgeshire, called "*the Mazles*"; at Hilton, Hunts; Dunstable, Bedfordshire; Saffron Walden, Essex; Winchester, Hants; West Ashton, Wilts; on the Cotswold Hills, Gloucestershire; at Pimpern, and at Leigh in Yetminster, Dorset. The latter is called the "*Miz-Maze*." I will now refer more particularly to some of these.

The first which I shall notice is the maze that formerly existed in Yorkshire on Ripon Common: it was ploughed up in 1827, but its plan having been fortunately preserved by Mr. J. Tuting, sen., of Ripon, I am able to exhibit its form (see fig. 4). It was 20 yards in diameter, and its path was 407 yards long.

Another maze, precisely resembling this Ripon specimen, may still be seen in the same locality, namely, at Asenby, in the parish of Topcliffe, and it is preserved with very laudable care at the expense of the parish, and I trust will continue to meet with such attention. It is slightly smaller than the maze formerly to be seen at Ripon, being 17 yards in diameter, and its path is 336 yards long.

Another may be seen at Alkborough, Lincolnshire, over-

² The herdsmen still cut on the grassy plains of Burgh and Rockliff marshes, a labyrinthine figure, termed the Walls of

Troy.—Notes and Queries, Ser. ii. vol. v. p. 212.



Fig. 5. MAZE AT ALKBOROUGH, LINCOLNSHIRE. Diameter, 44 feet.



Fig. 6. MAZE AT WING, RUTLANDSHIRE. Diameter, 40 feet.



Fig. 7. MAZE AT BOUGHTON GREEN, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE. Diameter, 37 feet.

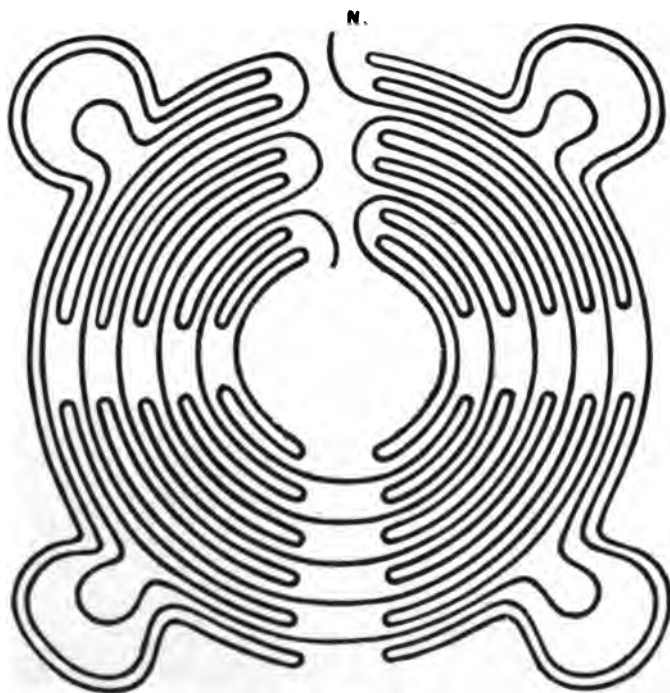
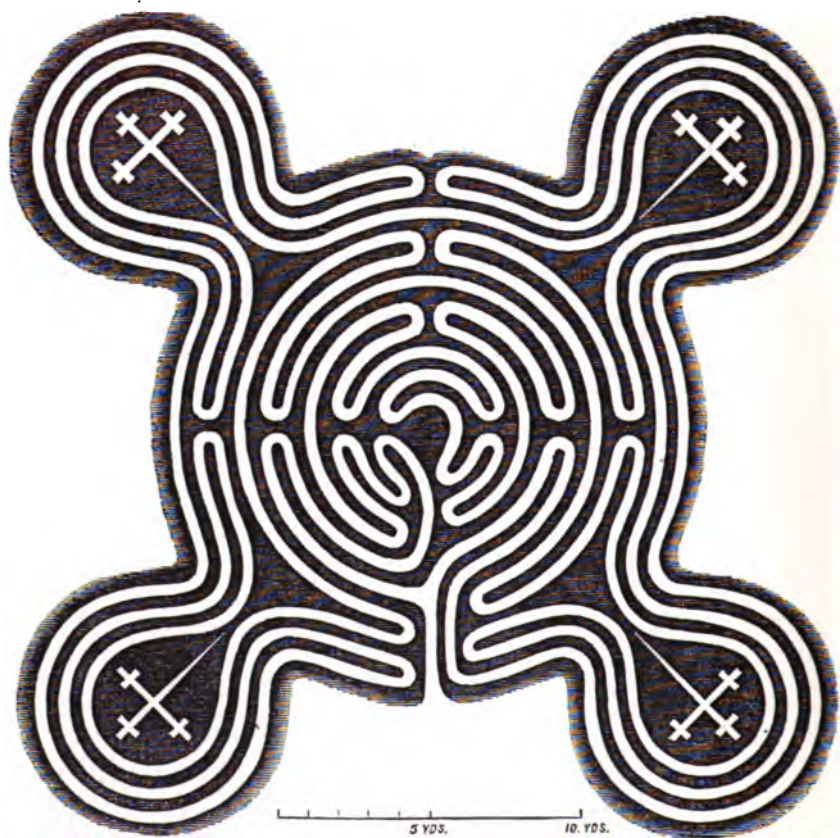


Fig. 9. MAZE AT SAFFRON WALDEN, ESSEX. Diameter, 110 feet.

[To face page 221.]



**Fig. 8. MAZE FORMERLY EXISTING NEAR ST. ANN'S WELL,
SNEINTON, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.**

Diameter, 51 feet.

[To face page 224.

looking the Humber. This is 44 feet in diameter, and the remarkable resemblance between its plan and that designed on marble at Lucca will be at once perceived. (See Fig. 5.) The next example (Fig. 6) is on the outskirts of the village of Wing, near Uppingham, Rutlandshire ; it is 40 feet in diameter, and belongs to the same class as the preceding maze.



Fig. 4. Maze formerly existing on Ripon Common.

Diameter, 60 feet.

Fig. 7 is cut on Boughton Green, in Northamptonshire, so celebrated for its fair ; it is 37 feet in diameter.

Fig. 8 is remarkable for the addition of projecting features to the circular centre, which gives quite a different character to its plan, and still more so on account of the cross-cross-lets fitchy cut within those projections. It formerly existed on a hill near St. Anne's Well, in the lordship of Sneinton,

about a mile distant from Nottingham. Its diameter was 17 yards, exclusive of the projecting portions, and the length of its sinuous pathway was 535 yards. It was termed the "Shepherd's Maze," and "Robin Hood's Race," but it was unfortunately ploughed up in 1797.

Fig. 9 nearly resembles the last. It is cut on the common adjoining Saffron Walden, Essex, and is 110 feet in diameter. There is a local tradition that this is a copy of another and more ancient maze, which was imitated by a soldier, but probably the soldier only re-cut the old design; certain it is, however, that a maze has existed on the Saffron Walden common, such as is represented, for a very long period, as testified by local records.³

Fig. 10 presents a totally new and very complicated design to our notice. It formerly existed in the parish of Pimperm, near Blandford in Dorsetshire, and covered nearly an acre of ground, but it was ploughed up in 1730. It was formed of small ridges, about a foot high,⁴

Fig. 11 is an example of a quadrangular maze, 86 feet square, also cut in turf like the preceding specimens. It is on St. Catherine's Hill, in the parish of Chilcombe near Winchester, and is known by the name of the "Mize-Maze." Having become very indistinct, it was re-cut by the present Warden of Winchester, with the aid of a plan that had been fortunately preserved by a lady in the vicinity. It has been thus alluded to in the Rev. J. Warton's "Mons Catherinæ :"—

Aut aliquis tereti ductos in margine gyros
Suspiciens, miratur inextricabile textum ;
Sive illic Lemurum populus sub nocte choreas
Plausurit exiguas, viridesque attriverit herbas ;
Sive olim pastor fidus descripserit ignes,
Verbaque difficili composta reliquerit orbe,
Confusasque notas, impressaque cespite vota.

It will be remarked that there is a very strong degree of similarity between the six circular designs given, of which, however, one is cut on marble in an Italian cathedral, and the other five are cut in turf on the green-sward of as many different English counties. This fact, in addition to the great skill requisite to trace such complicated devices upon

³ The representation given in Camden, edit. Gough, 1806, vol. ii. pl. xiv. p. 400, appears very incorrect: a tree stands in the centre.

⁴ This representation is reduced from the plate in Hutchins' Dorset, vol. i. p. 100, first edit., drawn by J. Bastard, 1753.



Fig. 10. MAZE FORMERLY EXISTING AT PIMPERN, DORSET.

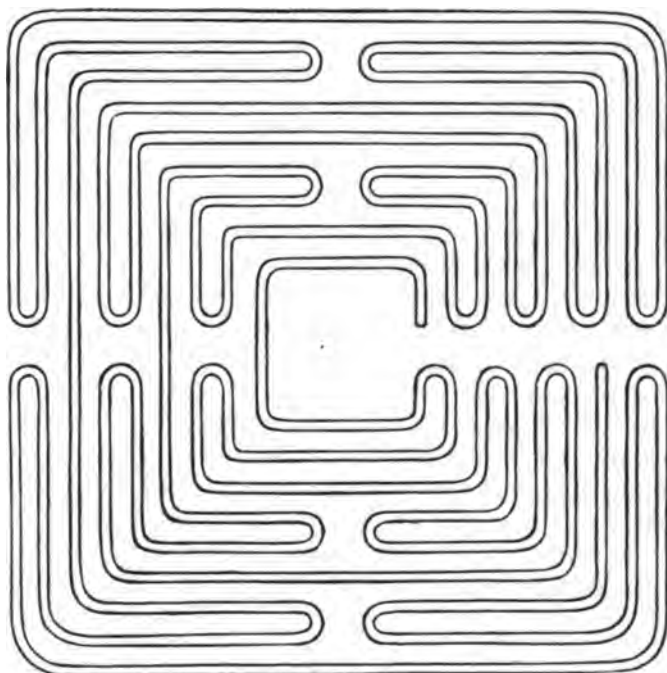


Fig. 11. THE MIZE-MAZE, ON ST. CATHERINE'S HILL, WINCHESTER
Diameter, 86 feet.

[To face page 225.]

very limited spaces, at once negatives the idea that any of them could have been originally the handywork of some local shepherd. Denying, therefore, their pastoral, as well as their presumed Roman origin, it now remains to be suggested, by whom they were created, for what purpose, and at what period. So far, I believe questions on these points would have been asked in vain, but France has lately presented a clue by which we may be guided to the solution of some of the difficulties connected with turf labyrinths. On comparing the English specimens with those in French mediæval churches, and the maze at Alkborough in particular with the example before noticed in Sens Cathedral, the respective designs are almost identical, and there could scarcely remain a doubt that both had an ecclesiastical origin, had no other evidence been forthcoming. Moreover, this supposition is strengthened by another circumstance, namely, that most, if not all, of our English turf-mazes are situated in the vicinity either of a church or chapel, or in localities where it may appear probable that some sacred structure once existed.

The Alkborough specimen is within a short distance of the parish church of that village, as is that at Wing. That on Boughton Green, although now in a remote spot, is near the ruins of the original parish church of St. John, first built by the Abbot of St. Wandregesile in Normandy. That at Sneinton was close to the chapel of St. Anne, built in 1409, some traces of which still exist in the foundations of a modern house now occupying its site.⁵ This maze seems to have puzzled the learned historian of Nottingham, Dr. Deering, who, although rejecting Stukeley's opinion as to the Roman origin of such works, and inclined to attribute them to ecclesiastics, gives the following ludicrous reason for their formation:—"Might I offer my conjecture, I should think this open maze was made by some of the priests belonging to St. Anne's chappel, who being confined so far as not to venture out of sight and hearing, contrived this *to give themselves a breathing for want of other exercise*."⁶ The Winchester maze also was near the ancient chapel of St. Catherine, of which mention is made in the episcopal registers in conjunction with the parish church of Chilcombe.

⁵ Deering's Nottingham, sect. 4, p. 73.

⁶ Ibid., p. 75.

It appears possible, therefore, that some of these works may have been originally created as a means of performing penance, and not for purposes of amusement, and that they were designed by ecclesiastics, and not by Romans of old, nor by shepherds and others of later years. This supposition is illustrated by the accompanying engraving, taken from a drawing by a talented lady, Mrs. Robert Miles, which represents the ecclesiastics of St. Anne's chapel, adjoining the well of that name, at prayer in their penitential labyrinth.

After the Reformation, however, these rural mazes were certainly converted into a medium of recreation, as referred to in several passages of Shakspeare :—

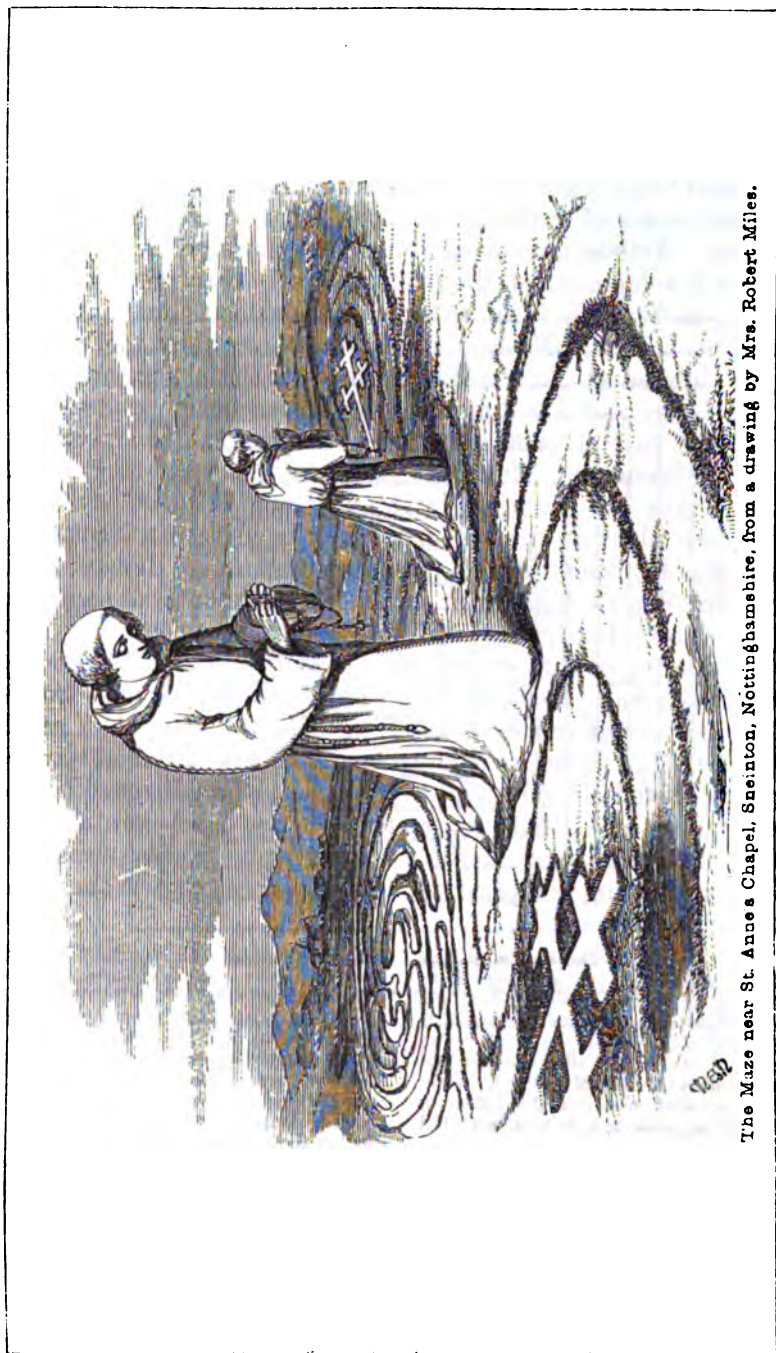
The nine men's morris is fill'd up with mud ;
And the quaint *mazes* on the wanton green,
For lack of tread, are undistinguishable.—

MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, Act 2, Scene 2.

My old bones ache : here's a *maze* trod indeed,
Through forth-rights and meanders ! by your patience
I needs must rest me.—TEMPEST, Act 3, Scene 3.

Another class of labyrinths still remains to be noticed, viz., the Topiary, consisting of those formed by clipped hedges of yew, holly, or hornbeam, enclosing a puzzling series of winding paths, one of which alone conducts to a small open space in the centre. These works, the joint production of nature and man, were known to the Romans, and are alluded to by Pliny,⁷ whilst the romantic history of Rosamond Clifford may readily remind us of their existence in England at an early period. The maze at Woodstock, in which she was for a time concealed by Henry II. from the sight of his young queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, had probably formed part of the "Plaisance" adjoining the royal palace, long before it was adapted for the reception of the fair object of Henry's love. In the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth mazes were much in vogue, and there must then have been a frequent demand for fabricators of verdant subtilties, a maze formed by neatly clipped hedges being an usual adjunct to the royal residences, and probably also to those of the nobility. These, I believe, are now for the most part destroyed, but their past existence is indicated by

⁷ Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 13.



The Maze near St. Anne's Chapel, Sneinton, Nottinghamshire, from a drawing by Mrs. Robert Miles.

the retention of the name Maze in the vicinity of the spots they had once occupied, such as The Maze in Southwark, marking the site of the Princess Mary Tudor's residence, alluded to by Miss Strickland in her *Lives of the Queens of England*,⁸ and Maze Hill, at Greenwich, once supplied with a similar means of amusing the royal inmates of the adjoining palace. Artists, moreover, whose names are of high repute in the development of the pictorial and other arts, did not deem it beneath them to devise plans for these intricate verdant bowers. Holbein designed one, a print of which was exhibited at the late Manchester Exhibition, accompanied by a Latin and a German poetical inscription, whence it appeared that it was intended to represent the mythical work of Dædalus. Tintoretto, likewise, painted a labyrinth, which may be seen in Hampton Court Palace.⁹ I here give two plans of verdant mazes of the sixteenth century, one, Fig. 12, from the old palace of Theobalds, Herts; and another, Fig. 13, taken from an Italian work on architecture, by Serlio.¹ Labyrinths of this description continued to abound during the seventeenth century in Italy, France, Germany, and Holland, but they were discarded from England by the refined taste of the times of Charles I. and Charles II., whose artistic garden-terraces, adorned with groups of well-chosen sculpture, and fair lawns enlivened with embroidery of skilfully contrasted flowers, could not admit the propinquity of so puerile a conceit as a gloomy mass of hedges, affecting to represent the mighty architectural designs

⁸ Vol. i., p. 318. The manor of "Le Maze," Southwark, is so termed in 1 Henr. VI. when it belonged to Sir John Burcestre. See the account of it given in Coll. Top. vol. viii. p. 253. The memory of its site still exists in the names Maze Lane and Maze Pond. Green, the Dramatist, mentions the "Maze in Tuttle," supposed to have been in Tothill Fields.

⁹ This painting is now in the Queen's Private Chamber, at Hampton Court, and it is marked No. 787, in the *Strangers' Guide*, published in 1857. In a letter to M. Didron, cited in M. Durand's *Memoir on Mosaic Pavements*, *Annales*, tome xvii. p. 127, it is stated that in the collection of the Marquis Campana at Rome was to be seen a painting of the sixteenth century, on panel, representing the story of Theseus, with a labyrinth which closely

resembled that in the church of Santa Maria in Aquiro at Rome, figured by M. Durand in that memoir.

¹ "Seb. Serlio, *Libri cinque d'Architettura*," Venet. 1551, fol., but the books appeared separately, commencing in 1537. This work was translated into French, by J. Martin, Paris and Antwerp, 1545-50, also into Dutch, and in 1611 into English. A copy of that translation, a folio volume of considerable rarity, exists in the library of my friend, the Rev. W. Thornton, at Dodford, Northamptonshire. A remarkable example of the topiary maze formerly existed at the Château de Gaillon. In the *Architectural Works of Du Cerceau*, who lived in the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III. (1560-89) there is scarcely a ground-plot without a square and a round labyrinth.

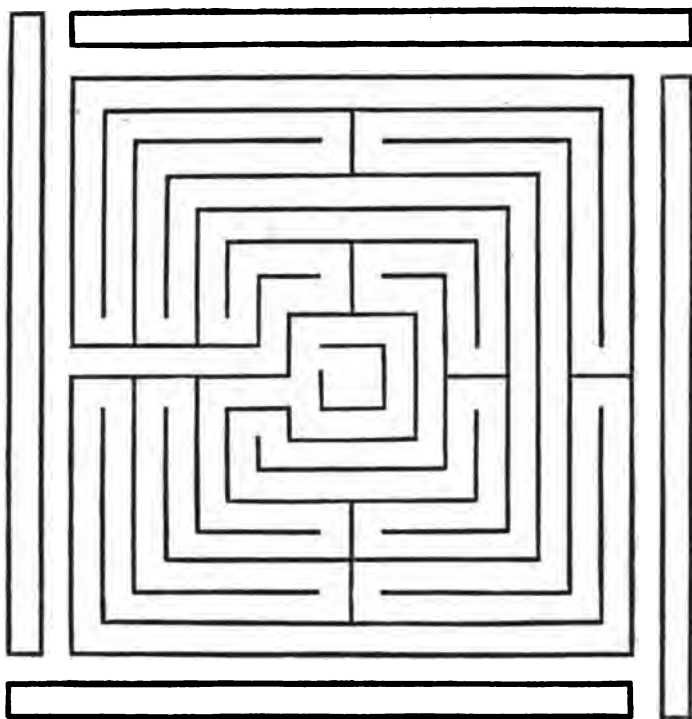


Fig. 12. MAZE AT THEOBALDS, HERTFORDSHIRE.

of the ancient monarchs of Egypt, Crete, or Etruria. Clement X., who ordered a maze to be made at the Villa Altiéri, is reported to have amused himself with the perplexities of his attendants when consigned to its folds, formed of thick and high box-trees.² Gabriel planned one for the palace of Choisi in France, and the celebrated Le Nôtre another for that of Chantilly, during the abovenamed period. The passion for these verdant marvels was again resumed through the example of William III., who formed one at his palace of the Loo, in Holland, and that well-known specimen at Hampton Court, a work which very probably suggested to Pope, who resided in its vicinity, the idea expressed in the following lines :—

Let us (since life can little more supply
Than just to look about us and to die),
Expatiate free o'er all this scene of man,
A mighty maze ! but not without a plan.

EDWARD TROLLOPE.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON MAZES IN ENGLAND.

Whilst the foregoing memoir has been in the printer's hands, certain particulars relating to the subject under consideration have been communicated, which appear deserving of notice.

At Hilton, Huntingdonshire, there is a maze precisely resembling that at Alkborough, called "Julian's Bower" (fig. 5, *supra*). In the centre stands a stone pillar, bearing inscriptions in Latin and in English, to the effect that one William Sparrow formed the maze around it in the year 1660, possibly as it may be imagined to commemorate the Restoration. He doubtless copied the design of some older maze with which he was familiar, perhaps that in Lincolnshire, above mentioned.

At Comberton, Cambridgeshire, there exists a maze called "The Mazes," almost identical with that at Wing, Rutlandshire (fig. 6, *supra*). The path is of gravel, 2 feet wide ; its windings are separated from each other by little trenches nine inches wide. The diameter of the circle is 50 feet, and the outer margin is on a level with the surrounding ground, but the area of the maze gradually sinks towards its centre.

Mr. Wright, in a note in his *History of Essex*, vol. ii. p. 124, states that "it has been a custom from time immemorial among the villagers, to hold a feast at this spot every three years about the time of Easter. It would seem most probable that such works originally served for some religious ceremony among the Britons, to whom they are generally attributed, as among all the ancient systems the labyrinth was a sacred symbol."

² See the letter from M. B. de Montault in Didron's *Annales*, tome xvii. p. 127, note. An engraving of this labyrinth

exists, executed in the seventeenth century.

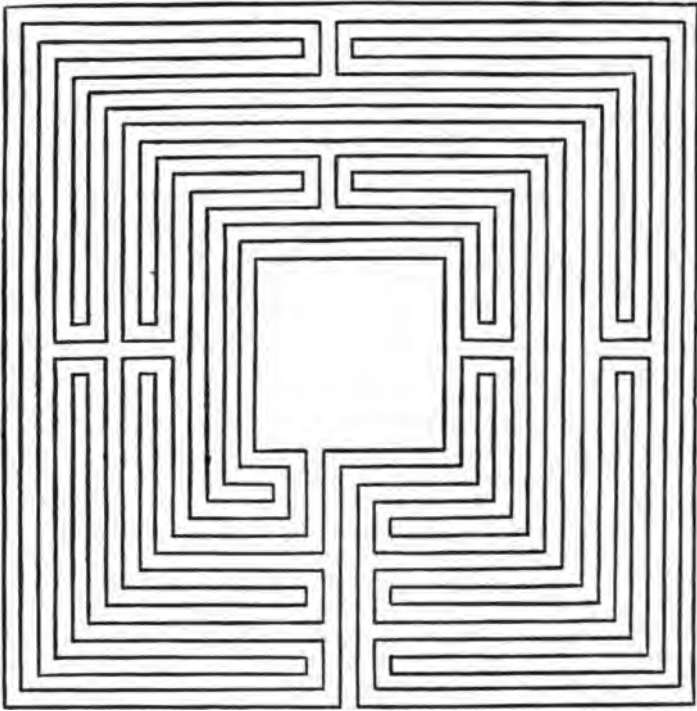


Fig. 13. ITALIAN MAZE, FROM SERLIO, LIBRI CINQUE D'ARCHITETTURA, 1537.

[To face page 228.]

It is remarkable that mazes formed on turf appear to be unknown on the Continent. Enquiry has been made in vain to ascertain the occurrence of any example. The learned French archaeologist, however, M. Didron, whose instructive and admirably illustrated "*Annales*" comprise almost every subject within the range of antiquarian investigation, promises to give a memoir with engravings, the result of the researches of M. Bonnin of Evreux, who has succeeded in collecting not less than two hundred examples of all periods and all countries. Amongst these, probably, some foreign maze, traced on turf like those in England, may be found. See the notes to M. Durand's interesting paper on "*Les Pavés-mosaïques*," before cited, and published in the *Annales Archeologiques*, tome xvii. p. 127.

No example of the maze appears to have been noticed as existing in Surrey; Aubrey, however, in his *History of that County*, vol. v. p. 80, observes that there were many mazes in England before the civil wars, and that the young people used on festivals to dance upon them, or as the term was, to tread them. A very keen observer of early vestiges in Surrey, Mr. H. L. Long, states that in his remembrance there existed a maze termed "a Troy Town," cut on Hillbury, between Farnham and Guildford. The writer of the Query regarding labyrinths cut on the turf by Welsh shepherds in former days, and called Caerdroia, Walls or Citadel of Troy, in commemoration, it has been believed, of the Trojan origin of the Britons, asserts that at the present time herdsmen on the grassy plains of Burgh and Rockliff Marshes near the Solway, in Cumberland, cut a labyrinthine figure on the turf, which they call the Walls of Troy. (Notes and Queries, Series ii. vol. v. p. 211). In Scotland, as we are informed by Mr. Joseph Robertson, the "Walls of Troy" are still popular amongst children, who trace the maze on the sea-sand, or draw it on their school-slates. Topiary mazes there formed a feature of old pleasure-grounds, as in the south. As a device, he notices the labyrinth to be seen incised on the stone bench in one of the window recesses of the hall at Craigmillar Castle. The obscure allusion to Troy was retained, it must be observed, until comparatively recent times, since amongst the topiary and other works laid out at Kensington Palace by London and Wise, the celebrated designers of gardens in the reign of William III., the curious upper garden known as the "Siege of Troy" was long celebrated. Some antiquaries have supposed that a certain connexion may have subsisted between the so-called "Troy Town" and the *Ludus Trojæ*, or Troy Game, a favourite martial exercise in early mediæval times, which has been regarded as having been the origin of tournaments. There may have been a resemblance between this disport and the warlike exercises of Iulus described by Virgil, as cited in the foregoing memoir. See regarding the *Ludus Trojæ*, Meyrick's *Critical Enquiry*, vol. ii., pp. 79, 83, 125; Bohn's edition.

This game, it may be observed, had certainly been handed down from a period long anterior to mediæval times. Nero, as we learn from Suetonius, was accustomed in his youth to play at Troy,—"*Trojam lusit*;" and the same writer, in his treatise, "*De lusibus puerorum*," observes, that the "*Lusus quem vulgo Pyrricham appellant Troja vocatur*."

Many localities, doubtless, in England have preserved the names of Troy Town and Julian's Bower, besides those already mentioned. In Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, vol. i., p. 73, it is said that the maze at Pimperm, Dorset, bore the designation of Troy Town; and another place so called is found in the same county, north-east of Beer Regis. In Kent,

a place of the same name occurs near Westerham, and other instances will be familiar to our readers.

It has been observed in the previous memoir that the Topiary maze appears to have been in fashion amongst the Romans, by whom decorations of clipped evergreens in gardens were carried to great perfection, the *Topiarius*, or ornamental gardener, being mentioned by Cicero and other writers. Pliny recommends various shrubs as suitable for such purposes, especially the laurel called *Taxa*, very fit for green arbours and to be wrought into knots; as also the Alexandrine laurel, the cypress, and the box, well suited to be formed into borders and hedges, kept orderly with clipping and cutting. Nat. Hist. B. xv. c. 30; B. xvi. c. 16, 33, &c. Whether any labyrinthine figures were actually thus formed in the gardens of the Romans may appear questionable, but if the *Ars Topiaria* were not called into requisition for such works, it seems certain that mazes resembling some in our own country were not unknown. Pliny, speaking of the great extent and intricacy of the Cretan labyrinth, observes (as translated by Holland), "neither must we think that these turnings and returnings were after the manner of mazes which are drawne upon the pavement and plaine floore of a field (ut in pavimentis puerumve ludicris campestribus videmus) such as we commonly see serve to make sport and pastime among boies, that is to say, which within a little compasse and a round border comprehend many miles," &c. B. xxxvi. c. 13. See the article *Hortus*, in Smith's Dictionary of Antiquities, and the Epistle of the younger Pliny, in which he describes his Tuscan villa, with its *hippodromus*, explained to have been a kind of circus, consisting of several paths divided by hedges of box, and ornamented with topiary work. Pliny, Epist. lib. v. ep. 6.

It may be difficult, if not impracticable, to ascertain what is the most ancient instance of a labyrinth, of whatever description, in the British Islands. An ancient earthwork on Wick Down Hill, near Downton, Wiltshire, described by Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his *Ancient Wilts*, vol. i. p. 231, as a Maze, "has the appearance of a low barrow surrounded by circles within circles." There are tumuli in the neighbourhood. It is to be regretted that no plan is given of this curious work.

Mention has been made of the earliest labyrinth, so designated, familiar to us in English history, namely, Rosamond's Bower at Woodstock. It is, however, very doubtful of what description this may have been. Drayton, in a note to his "Epistle of Rosamond," says that her labyrinth was formed of arched and walled vaults underground, but Gough observes that the poet gives no authority for the assertion. See Preface to Gough's *Brit. Topog.* p. xxx. Such vaults might have existed in Drayton's time, but they did not prove that there had not been any superstructure. According to Bromton, indeed, Rosamond's labyrinth at Woodstock should be numbered amongst those of the Architectural class. He says of her, "*Huic nempe puellæ spectatissimæ fecerat rex apud Wodestoke mirabilis architecturæ cameram operi Dædalino similem, ne forsân a regina deprehenderetur.*" Script. decem, col. 1151. Knyghton uses the same words, with the exception only of the expression, "*Operi Dædalino sinuatam.*" Ibid, col. 2395.

Henry, abbot of Clairvaux, has been supposed to allude to mazes, such as have been figured in the foregoing memoir, when, writing allegorically of being entangled in a labyrinth, he observes, "*non habent*

certos aditus, semitas ambulant circulares, et in quodam fraudium labyrintho monstra sævissima reconduntur." See Hoveden, ed. Savile, p. 577, under the year 1178. It is obvious, however, that the writer may have had in his thoughts merely the traditional forms of the Cretan labyrinth.

Of the frequent use of mazes in later times and the varied fashions of their design, illustrations might be easily multiplied. It has already been observed that the maze had been much in vogue as a feature of pleasure grounds in the sixteenth century: one at Theobalds, Herts, built by Burleigh about 1560, has been figured in the foregoing memoir. Books of practical instruction for planning such works were published at that time, and the following has been specially cited: "The Gardener's Labyrinth, by Dydymus Mountaine. Wherein are set forth divers herbers, knottes, and mazes, cunningly handled for the beautifying of gardens." 4to. 1577. Evelyn enumerates "labyrinths, dædals, cabinets," &c., amongst the numerous topiary and other works in his scheme for a Royal Garden. (*Memoirs*, vol. iii. p. 435.) In the popular cyclopaedia of country occupations, the "*Maison Rustique*," by Charles Estienne and Liebault, published at Paris in 1582, a figure of a square "Dædalus" is given amongst the plans for laying out gardens, and it is copied in the translation by Richard Surfet, entitled "*The Country Farme*." See Gervase Markham's edition, London, 1616, p. 276, where "The forme of a Labyrinth" will be found.

The topiary maze appears to have been sometimes termed a Wilderness, as at Hampton Court and elsewhere. The author of the *Account of several Gardens near London*, in 1691, commends "the very pretty maze or Wilderness" at Lord Fauconbergh's garden at Sutton Court, near Chiswick. *Archæologia*. vol. xii. p. 184. The Wilderness at Hampton Court, with the compartment laid out as a maze, the design of which may be seen in Jesse's *Hampton Court*, p. 77, was part of the gardens laid out there for William III. by London and Wise, about 1690. See further on this subject Walpole's observations on *Modern Gardening*, in his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*.

The Institute is indebted to the kindness of the Author of the foregoing Memoir for the greater part of the illustrations by which it is accompanied.

DE MONTALTO.

THE noble family whose name appears as the title of the present memoir, was intimately connected with two of the most interesting castles in Great Britain, and with one of its most picturesque and regal cities. Their histories are thus so closely interwoven, that it would be difficult to separate them, and more particularly towards the close of the life of one of these great Seneschals, when Hawarden castle and the city of Coventry, subjects of the ensuing remarks, passed by bequest from the De Montalto family into the possession of the Plantagenets.

Beyond all comparison or dispute the official Records of the Crown contain the most trustworthy evidence that can be referred to in every question of historical research. Monastic or municipal charters follow them in the scale of reliable authority. Should these be silent, the testimony of a monkish chronicler, or even of a mediæval tradition, will occasionally cast a ray, though one of uncertain light, over the dark view of past events, events which however they more commonly mystify than explain.

Therefore, whilst sketching an account of the De Montalto family and some of their possessions, and adducing statements from these various sources, the value of authentic information ought to be cautiously balanced, and the cold deductions of truth carefully weighed against the popular attractions offered by the more agreeable narrative of mediæval romance. Since it should be the first duty in pursuing investigations of this nature, to clear away without hesitation every statement resting on doubtful authority, and to lay bare the foundations, however trifling they may seem to be, yet still what are left, which deserve the confidence of an inquiring age.

The mere mention of the name of Coventry serves to carry away the mind to a series of events whose credibility has been disguised by dramatic fiction. Its mention evokes before us a motley spectacle of religious mysteries, moralities,

and miracle plays. Fancy leads us to behold the exhibition of a scriptural allegory represented at the cost of some of those trading companies or holy fraternities abounding in the city, and we seem to see and to follow the long pageant passing in tumultuous disorder through the narrow streets. We inwardly laugh at the burlesque, if we do not turn away from the unnatural admixture of what is impious and absurd. Or, dwelling on more serious and trustworthy subjects, we recount the numerous immunities Coventry has obtained from the days of the Confessor, even to the last of the Stuarts; or we pass in review the transactions of Parliaments that have become memorable chiefly through their unpolite¹ or opprobrious² titles. Coventry was the early seat of a Bishop, and it was, moreover, celebrated for a wealthy monastery founded by an Anglo-Saxon Earl. The fame of Godiva's benevolence (shall it be called according to the popular belief, the heroism of her self-devotion?) has invested the city with an undying air of romance. It will be the duty of an inquirer into these earlier events, to ascertain the grounds upon which such traditions rest, to break the poetical enchantment that has deluded her credulous admirers, and to protest, not only against the rude dismantling of her modesty, but against a ridiculous narrative that has violated the sacred dignity of history, degraded female purity, and converted a deed of charity, common enough at the period, into a fabulous act of indelicate compassion.

The value due to all these circumstances will require examination, and they are also an essential introduction to the subsequent connection of Coventry with the De Montalto family.

It has been stated by Florence of Worcester,³ a writer of research and fidelity, that Leofric, Earl of Chester, and Godiva his wife, founded and built at Coventry a monastery before the year 1057, endowing it so liberally with land, with various ecclesiastical ornaments, precious stones, and with gold and silver, that it was unequalled in riches throughout England. This event happened so very near the time

¹ 38 Hen. VI., 1459. *Parliamentum Diabolicum*, the Devil's or Mad Parliament.

² *Parliamentum indoctorum*, or the

Illiterate Parliament, held 7 Hen. IV., 1406.

³ *Flor. Wigorn. Chron.* sub anno 1057, *Monumenta Hist. Brit.*, p. 608.

when this historian flourished, if, indeed, it did not occur in his lifetime, seeing he died in 1118, that the circumstance would be fresh in his recollection.

Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon,⁴ who succeeds in chronological order, after an interval of nearly a century, would be less likely to write a truthful statement, and he gives to Godiva the entire credit of this foundation, so soon had the first account of its history become corrupted. There can be no doubt that it was mainly the work of Earl Leofric's munificence, though, as Vitalis seems to infer, it was subsequently much enriched by the valuable gifts presented to it by the Countess herself. Even from so slight a perversion as this may have originated the story that has since conferred upon her so ambiguous a reputation; the current tradition being, that she rode in a state of nudity through the streets, to induce her husband to confer greater immunities upon his vassals, as well as to lighten the burden of their taxation.

This doubtful story is first circulated in the history attributed to Matthew of Westminster, a writer who borrows his facts from Florence of Worcester, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and other less trustworthy sources; none of the writers, however, now named take any notice of such an improbable circumstance. Henry Knyghton, Archdeacon of Leicester, who terminates his chronicle with the death of Richard II., gives no original matter before the very end of the reign of Edward I., and he, therefore, could only have copied from report his own account of Godiva's exhibition, since it had not previously been written among the common annals. Nor would John of Bromton, Abbot of Jervaux, the third in order who mentions it, be capable of resting his version of the story on any earlier or reliable authority. By comparing their respective narratives, it will be perceived how slavishly these monkish chroniclers repeat the assertions of each other, a propensity that has descended to subsequent writers of history.⁵

⁴ Hen. Huntind., lib. vi. p. 608.

⁵ Amongst recent illustrations of this incautiousness, a stronger one can scarcely be adduced than the imputation of blood-thirstiness and cruelty that has been attempted to be affixed upon the gentle nature of a martyred son of one of England's noblest families. The malevolent spirit of Archdeacon Eachard first propagated the calumny that William Lord

Russell interfered with the remission of Lord Strafford's sentence, by expressing a doubt whether Charles had the power of dispensing with that part of it which related to hanging and quartering after he was beheaded. And thus the stain of rancour, arising from some malicious rumour of party writers of the day, "who wrote for bread to keep them from fasting," has been echoed by Ralph, Hume,

The fable, however, as it has descended to us, must have been invented between the time when Matthew of Westminster and Roger de Hoveden wrote. It is not mentioned by any writer before 1307, and must have been the creation of the latter end of the thirteenth century. In substance it is as follows. The original accounts, one of which is closely copied from the other, will be worth comparing in the notes.⁶

Blackstone, Dalrymple, even Mr. Fox, Lingard, Hallam, and Campbell, without dispassionately inquiring into the truth of such an unjustifiable charge. If writers of such authority as they, are satisfied in putting history so loosely together, it is not surprising that a monk of Jervaux should repeat the falsehoods written by a credulous brother. It is a satisfaction and a solace to turn from such materials and glean a solitary fact, that is really true, from a charter, a fine roll, or an official record, after the trouble of sifting the statements of such faithless guides.

⁶ Ad jugem quoque instanciam uxoris suae urbem suam Coventrensem ab omni tolno præterquam de equis liberam fecit; quod impetrandum uxor ejus Comitissa Godgiva quodam mane per medium urbis nuda, sed comis tecta, equitavit.—Hen. de Knyghton de Eventibus Angliæ, lib. i. c. xii.—Scriptores Decem, pp. 233-4.

Hæc autem Comitissa religiose villam Coventrensem a gravi servitute ac turpi liberare affectans, sæpius Comitum virum suum magnis precibus rogavit, ut Sanctas Trinitatis sanctæque genetricis Dei intuitu villam a prædicta absolveret servitute. Cumque Comes illam increparet quod rem sibi damnosam inaniter postularet, prohibuit constanter, ne ipsum super hac re de cætero conveniret. Illa contrario, pertinacia muliebri ducta, virum indeinenter de petitione præmissa exasperans, tale responsum extorsit ab eo. Ascende (inquit) equum tuum nuda, et transi per mercatum villæ, ab initio usque ad finem, populo congregato, et cum redieris, quod postulas, impetrabis. Cui Comitissa respondens, ait, et si hoc facere voluero, licentiam mihi dabis? Ad quam Comes, dabo, inquit. Tunc Godiva Comitissa Deo dilecta, die quadam, ut prædictum est, nuda equum ascendens crines capitis et tricas dissolvens, corpus suum totum præter crura candidissima inde velavit, et itinere completo, a nemine visa, ad virum gaudens hoc pro miraculo habentem, reversa est. Comes vero Leofricus, Con-

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ventrensem a præfata servitute liberans civitatem, chartam suam inde factam sigilli sui munimine roboravit.—Flores Histor. Matth. Westm. sub anno 1057.

De diota quoque Godiva Comitissa quæ ecclesiam de Stowe sub promontorio Lincolnis, et multas alias construxerat, legitur, quod dum ipsa Coventreiam a gravi servitute et importabili tolno liberare affectasset, Leofricum Comitum virum suum sollicitavit, ut Sanctas Trinitatis Deique genetricis Mariæ intuitu villam a prædicta solveret servitute. Prohibuit Comes ne de cætero rem sibi dampnosam inaniter postularet. Illa nichilominus virum indeinenter de petitione præmissa exasperans tale responsum ab eo demum extorsit. Ascende, inquit, equum tuum et nuda a villæ initio usque ad finem populo congregato equites, et sic postulata cum redieris, impetrabis. Tunc Godiva Deo dilecta equum nuda ascendens, ac capitis crines et tricas dissolvens, totum corpus præter crura inde velavit. Itinere completo, a nemine visa ad virum gaudens est reversa, unde Leofricus Coventreiam a servitute et malis customis et exactionibus liberavit, et chartam suam inde confectam sigilli sui munimine roboravit, de quo adhuc isti pauperes mercatores ad villam accedentes plenarie sunt experti.—Chron. John. Bromton Abbatis Jorvalensis, p. 949.

Following this passage, there is an account of the extraordinary miracle which happened whilst Leofric was at mass with Edward the Confessor, on which occasion the Saviour in form of a child appeared to them in the elevation of the sacrament, blessing first the King and the Earl, the former of whom, however, being perversely blind, required the supernatural appearance to be shown to him before he could perceive it. This absurd legend (and I only mention it to show the ignorance or the profligacy that weakens the testimony of these early writers, as to the credibility of what is actually true) was abridged by Bromton from the Anglo-French life of the Confessor, written about 1245. See Bromton,

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The Lady Godiva, having an extraordinary affection for the city of Coventry, often besought her husband, Earl Leofric, that he would relieve the inhabitants from a heavy burden he had imposed on them, until at length, wearied by her importunity, he said to her that if she would consent to ride naked from one end of the town to the other, amid the assembled people, he would comply with her wishes. She thereupon immediately asked whether he would in reality permit her, and receiving an affirmative answer, on an appointed day she mounted her horse, covered only by her flowing hair, which enwrapped her entire body except the legs, and having accomplished this her heroic immolation, she obtained from her lord the release of their geld and services.

It is added, though all the chroniclers are unpardonably silent as to this fact, which is in strict accordance with other portions of the narrative, and no one would wish to mutilate it, that an order went forth that all the people should shut themselves up within their houses during the time she rode through the city; but that one 'low churl,' a tailor, who peered abroad, was instantly struck with blindness, as a penalty for his curiosity. The historians of the middle ages have provokingly passed over this incident in silence, though it must rest on equal authority with the others, since the wretched creature has even been memorialised by a wooden effigy at the spot where his prurient curiosity betrayed him. A demi-figure, wearing a cocked hat, probably the uncouth decoration as the figure-head of some ancient vessel, removed to the niche of a conspicuous corner, declares the fate of Peeping Tom to passers beneath, thus forming as true a portion of the story as its other accompaniments, perhaps a more convincing one, according to the aphorism, that "seeing is believing."

Now it is a sufficient contradiction of this foolish tale to produce Earl Leofric's own deed of endowment, which is so full of benevolence and privileges, that there was no necessity for the chronicler to limit them at the risk of impairing Lady Godiva's discretion. This Charter,⁷ running much after the usual spirit of such grants, states that Leofric,

p. 949, and *Lives of the Confessor*, published recently under direction of the Master of the Rolls, pp. 12, 124-5, 169, 371. The 37th page in the Cambridge

MS. of this '*Estoire de Saint Ædward le Rei*,' represents the event.

⁷ *Angl. Sax. Cod. Diplom.* Edit. Kemble.—Tom iv. p. 273.

Earl of Chester, by the advice and permission of King Edward the Confessor and Pope Alexander, caused a church at Coventry to be dedicated to the honour of God and the Holy Mary his Mother, and St. Peter the Apostle, and St. Osburga the Virgin, and All Saints. And he accordingly bestows on it for the use of divine service, and for the maintenance and clothing of the abbot and monks, twenty-four villages, with a moiety of the city where it is founded. These possessions were settled on the monastery with sac and sok, and tol and them, and liberty, and all such customs as had ever been held of the king at the best : and moreover, the abbot was to be amenable to the king alone. This ample charter was subscribed by the Confessor, Eadsi Archbishop of Canterbury, and by several other persons of importance, all witnesses of the transaction.

Perhaps, it may be remarked, from the fact of these privileges being conferred on an ecclesiastical body, that they would therefore not include within their scope the other inhabitants of the city, and certainly as far as the Earl's own tenants were concerned, this charter does not offer any recognition of privileges in their favour. Yet there cannot exist any reasonable doubt that the devout spirit which prompted these institutions, would look with equal consideration upon the depressed condition of Leofric's other dependants. Indeed, it is most unnatural to conceive that a nobleman so deeply influenced by a sense of religious duty, would so far disregard the equally sacred claims of humanity as to exercise oppression over his own vassals, and regard them as unworthy of his merciful concern. Whilst Earl Leofric made these ample offerings upon the altar of God, he could scarcely feel insensible to the claims of suffering indigence, nor could he allow Godiva to act upon an impulse so repulsive to the modest feelings of her sex. Nor, indeed, if such an exhibition had ever in reality happened, and that "one low churl" who "peeped," had received his darkened fate, and if "the Powers above" had "cancelled a sense misused," or if the people had serious grievances, would it have been necessary for Ralph, Earl of Chester, in granting the following charter, to have so distinctly recognised the privileges conferred by his father and predecessors. The original is preserved amongst the muniments in the city of Coventry ; a deed in the finest preservation, with the Earl's

seal in green wax appended, Both this and the succeeding charter are given at length, as they have not hitherto been printed.

Radulphus, Comes Cestriæ, omnibus baronibus, et constabulariis, et ballivis, et ministris, et hominibus, et amicis suis Francis et Anglis, tam presentibus quam futuris, salutem. Sciatis me burgensibus meis de Coventre concessisse et dedisse, et hanc cartâ meâ confirmasse, omnia quæ in presenti carta scripta sunt, videlicet, ut bene, et honorifice, et quiete in libero burgajio teneant prædicti burgenses et heredes sui de me et de hæredibus meis, sicut unquam in tempore patris mei vel aliorum antecessorum meorum melius et firmitus et liberius tenuerunt: omnes autem libertates et bonas leges illis concedo, quas burgenses Lincolnæ meliores et liberiores habent. Prohibeo et defendo constabulariis meis, ne eos aliqua causa in castellum ad placitum ducant; sed portmot suum libere habeant, in quo omnia placita ad me et ad illos pertinentia juste tractentur. Quemlibet autem ex semetipsis pro me eligant, qui sub me super eos justiciarius sit, qui leges et consuetudines sciat, et eos meo consilio in omnibus rationabiliter, omni causa remota, custodiat, et mihi jura mea fideliter faciat. Si forte aliquis in misericordiam inciderit, curiatus sit rationabiliter per ballivum meum et fideles burgenses curiæ. Quoscunque autem mercatores secum ad villæ emendationem adduxerint precipio in pacem habeant, et nullus injuste eos in curiam mittat. Si vero aliquis extraneus mercator aliquod inconueniens in villa fecerit, in portmot coram justiciario supradicto sive curia illud dirigat. His testibus, Rogero constabulario Cestriæ, Roberto Seneschallo de Mohaut, Radulfo de Meisnilwarin, Petro Rondur, Symon Thulcher, Thoma dispensario, Joello de Louving', Willielmo Marescallo, Joel Bereng', Phillippo de Horrebi, Rogero de Almuille, Rogero de Busserville, Willielmo Priori, Willielmo de Byrdesol, Warino de Vernun (?), et multis aliis, apud Coventre.

There seem reasonable grounds for attributing this charter to Ranulph de Gernons, the second of that name, Earl of Chester, who died in 1153, both from its being witnessed by Robert Seneschal de Mohaut who, under the other title of Robertus Dapifer de Montealto, was, according to Mr. Ormerod, alive in this year, and farmer of the lands of the Palatinate from 1159 to 1162, and also because this same

Earl Ranulph de Gernons made additional grants to the monks of Coventry for the benefit of his soul, and of the souls of his parents and ancestors ;⁸ thus, apparently, evidencing an unbroken feeling of good will towards the citizens from the days of the Confessor to the reign of King Stephen, and consequently discountenancing the idea, that the inhabitants had cause to complain of any arbitrary tax or exactions, the whole tenor of these grants showing, in fact, indulgence and liberality.

In unison with the spirit of this charter of the Earl of Chester was the succeeding one. Both of them are in the finest state of preservation. It is always desirable to secure an original document by printing it, and also by giving it in an extended form, which makes it readily intelligible. When records are printed with their contractions, few take the trouble to read them.

Henricus, Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, et Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ, et Comes Andegavensis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vice-comitibus, et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis totius Angliæ, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse, et presenti carta mea confirmasse Burgensibus de Coventre omnes libertates et liberas consuetudines, quas Ranulphus Comes Cestriæ

⁸ The pedigree runs thus :—
Leofric — Godiva.

Algar.

Hugh E. of Chester, died 1101.

Richard E. of Chester, died 1119.

Ranulph E. of Chester (de Meschines, or Bricasard), died 1129.

Ranulph E. of Chester (de Gernons), died 1153; made grants to monks of Coventry.

Hugh E. of Chester (Kevellio), died 1181.

Ranulph E. of Chester (Blundevil), died 1231, leaving four sisters, namely,—

Maud m. E. of Angus, died before her brother Ranulph.

Mabel m. E. of Arundel.

Agnes m. E. of Derby.

Hawise m. E. of Winchester.

Hugh, the second son of Mabel, succeeded to Coventry; and, having married Isabella, d. of William E. Warren, died 1243, leaving his inheritance to be divided among his four sisters,—Mabel, Cecilia, Isabella, and Nicola.

Robert de Montalto married Cecilia; and, in consequence of this union, obtained Castle Rising, Coventry, Hawarden, &c. &c.—See Dugdale, Baronage, vol. i. pp. 40—121.

rationabiliter eis concessit, et carta sua confirmavit; scilicet, ut ipsi burgenses bene, et in pace, et honorifice, in libero burgajio teneant, sicut unquam in tempore patris præfati Comitis, vel aliorum antecessorum suorum, melius et firmiter tenuerunt, et habeant omnes leges et consuetudines, quas cives Lincolnæ meliores et liberiores habeant. Et ne Constabularii prædicti Comitis eos aliqua causa in castellum ad placitum ducant, sed Portmannemot suum libere habeant, in quo omnia placita ad ipsum Comitem et ad illos pertinentia juste tractentur. Quemlibet autem ex semetipsis pro Comite eligant, qui sub Comite super eos justiciarius sit, et qui leges et consuetudines suas sciat, et eos consilio Comitis in omnibus rationabiliter, omni causa remota, custodiat, et ipsi Comiti jura sua fideliter faciat. Et, si forte aliquis in forisfacturam Comitis inciderit, pro xii. denariis quietus sit; si vero xii. nummos testimonio vicinorum suorum dare non possit, eorundem consideratione ita admensuretur quod persolvere valeat. Et prædicta cum aliis quietationibus, et quod non ipsi burgenses præfato Comiti nec suis aliquod in corrodio vel in alio accommodent, nisi ea conditione quod de redditione catalli sui tuti sint. Quoscunque autem mercatores secum ad villæ emendacionem adduxerint, pacem habeant, et nullus eis injuriam faciet, vel injuste eos in curiam mittat. Si vero aliquis externus mercator aliquod inconueniens in villa fecerit, in Portmannemot coram justiciario supradicto sive curia illud emendet; et illi, qui in villam venturi sunt, ex illa die, qua in villa edificare cœperint, per biennium de omnibus quieti sint. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod prænominati burgenses de Coventre omnes prædictas libertates et liberas consuetudines habeant et teneant, bene, et in pace, libere, et honorifice, sicut carta supradicti Comitis Ranulfi rationabiliter testatur. Teste Ranulfo de Glanvilla, Rogero le Bigot, Roberto filio Bernardi, Ricardo de Luci, Patricio de Chaurchis, Ranulfo de Ged-dington. Apud Merlebergam.⁹

It will be observed, that this Charter, granted by King Henry II., refers to that of the Earl of Chester, and the privileges conferred by his father and ancestors, which would carry us to immunities enjoyed by the men of Coventry at a

⁹ I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Henry Browett, Esq., the late mayor, and Charles Draper, Esq.,

the present mayor of Coventry, for the facilities obligingly afforded me in examining the Municipal Archives.

very remote period, probably that of Earl Leofric. If, however, there exists any doubt regarding so early a connexion as this, we are more fortunate in being able to fix an actual date to the royal charter itself, which the Great Roll of the Pipe mentions as having been given in the year 1182, the men of Coventry having then paid for it the sum of twenty marks.¹

At this precise time, "the Earl's Half" of Coventry, as it was termed, belonged to Ranulphus de Blundevil, Earl of Chester. He possessed it from 1181 to his death, in 1231, when Coventry, with Chester, fell to the share of Mabel, the second of his four sisters, who married William de Albini, Earl of Arundel. These possessions then devolved upon Hugh, the second son, who married Isabella, daughter of William Earl Warren. This Hugh dying in 1243, his inheritance was divided among his four sisters, and, by another singular coincidence, Cecilia, the second, brought by her marriage, Coventry and Castle Rising to Robert de Montalto.

The liberties of Coventry were seized in 1163, in consequence of Hugh, Earl of Chester, having, in conjunction with his tenants, been an active participator in the rebellion against the king. The Crown, however, restored the franchises in 1181, on receiving a fine of twenty marks. These privileges consisted in their having a confirmation of Earl Ranulf's Charter. By that they held their possessions in free burgage with the same immunities as the burgesses of Lincoln. They were entitled to hold a portmote court for pleas of every kind concerning themselves. They were empowered to elect from their own community a judge, who was skilful in the laws and customs. To these and a few other privileges the Crown added, that whosoever should come to inhabit there, from the day of his beginning to build for two years following, he should be free from all payments whatsoever. At the period when Henry II. granted this charter, the inhabitants at large were the burgesses, and the privileges were conferred without any corporate restrictions upon their heirs; the existence of municipal corporations, and the abuses of admitting honorary burgesses not arising before

¹ *Homines de Covintre reddant computum de xx. marciis pro habenda confirmatione Regis de Libertatibus suis.*—Magn. Rot. Pip. 28 Hen. II.

Here it may be worth noticing that

these privileges of Lincoln were copied from those at Northampton, the citizens paying a fine for the purpose.—6 Ric. I. (Pipe Roll.)

26th Edward I., when burgesses were first returned to sit in Parliament.

The possessions of Coventry became a fruitful source of litigation at an early period. The division of the Earl's half and the prior's half caused disputes which are scarcely ended at the present day. It will not be edifying to enter into questions which distracted the peace of the Church and city alike, and therefore only a few facts shall be mentioned, such merely as fall within the general scope of the present memoir. To place them before the reader in the most concise form, it will be sufficient to state that Earl Leofric, at the foundation of the priory, gave various villages and a moiety of Coventry itself to the monks, without any reservation of rents or services. When these possessions fell to Roger de Montalto by right of his marriage with Cecilia, the second daughter of the Earl of Arundel, they made, in a deed without date, a joint grant to William the prior, of all their right and claim in the whole manor, with the exception of Cheylesmore and certain accustomed military services, on condition of receiving an annual payment of 100*l.* from the prior and convent, and ten marcs from the nuns at Polesworth. It appears by a fine (34 Hen. III.) that a yearly rent of 107*l.* was reserved to be paid by the prior. It also appears by a fine (1 Edw. III.) between Robert de Montalto, Emma his wife, and Henry de Cliffe, that the manor of Cheylesmore, with the appurtenances in Coventry and the services of the prior, were conveyed to the said Henry de Cliffe, who rendered them again to Robert de Montalto, who subsequently conveyed them, in default of having male issue, to Queen Isabella for the term of her natural life, and after her decease to John of Eltham, the king's brother, and in default of heirs, to the king and his heirs.

To settle the disputes between the prior and the city of Coventry relating to the said grant of Roger and Emma de Montalto to the former, Queen Isabella released 10*l.* of the same rent, which was subsequently demanded as the fee farm to be paid into the Exchequer, as parcel of the duchy of Cornwall.²

² There is some perplexity in accounting for the alteration in the amount of the fee farm rent, which may be thus explained: The sum fixed in the first instance was 107*l.* The demands upon

the Prior were 98*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*—re-leased for enlarging the Friars' mines, 40*s.*, and ten marcs to the nuns of Polesworth makes up the sum. This sum was paid by the priors as one moiety of their

By a tripartite indenture,³ formerly amongst the documents in the treasury of the corporation, written in French, and under the seals of Queen Isabella, the prior and convent, and the mayor and commonalty of Coventry, it appears that the mayor and commonalty paid a consideration for their franchises, and agreed to a fee farm rent of 50*l.* per annum (20 Edw. III.).

Thus, out of the grant made by Roger de Montalto to the prior, there sprung a suit respecting the payments to be made to him by the monastery, which became more complicated by the possessions at Coventry being subsequently bequeathed by the Montalt family to Queen Isabella, with remainder first to John of Eltham, afterwards Earl of Cornwall, brother of Edward III., and then to her husband Edward II., and his heirs for ever. Similar controversies were continued; when, however, Edward, the Black Prince, was created Earl of Cornwall, his father settled the reversion of the manor of Cheylesmore upon him after the death of his mother, entailing it, as it was then conceived, as an inalienable appanage of the duchy.⁴

No doubt this intimate connexion with royalty procured many immunities for the city of Coventry. Its long array of charters shows the favour in which the inhabitants were held. Successive reigns saw the burgesses invested with increased privileges. But the grant of Montalt to the priory had laid the foundation of such civic controversy and strife, that it was only appeased by acts of legislation centuries afterwards.

In consequence of the peculiarity of the grant by Roger de Montalto to the prior, even after the broils of citizens and the encroachments of churchmen had with their jealousies and angry passions passed away, fresh suits and protracted legal disputes sprung from these ancient pretensions. It was no longer a contest betwixt the duchy and the monks of St. Benedict, but a civil war carried on between the corpo-

foundation, the other moiety of purchase.

³ The tripartite Indenture, of which only a copy remains, decided the bounds of that part of the city of Coventry called the Earl's half, and consequently defined the Prior's part. The part called the Earl's part was divided at the posts

or pillars set next to the cross of the Hospital of St. John, which prior's part is now Bishop Street Leet, and all the remnant without is the Earl's part. After the dissolution of monasteries, the corporation purchased the Prior's half.

⁴ George IV. sold the manor of Cheylesmore to the Marquis of Hertford.

ration and the residents in those hamlets formerly granted to the Church by Earl Leofric, which were constituted by the charter of 30 Henry VI. (1451) a part of the "county" of Coventry.

By this charter, which the king states in its preamble he gives out of the special affection which he bore to the city of Coventry, it is declared that the several hamlets, which were then within the county of Warwick, should be one entire county of itself, wholly separated from the county of Warwick for ever, to be distinctly and separately called the county of the city of Coventry.

Such a local division gave rise to perpetual quarrels, which continued even after the passing of the Municipal Act of 1835. Nor was it until 1842 that the controversy about this equivocal privilege was settled.

In returning to the personal history of De Montalto, it appears that Robert, the seventh and last of that name, was the junior grandson of the Robert who married Cecilia, daughter and co-heir of William, third Earl of Arundel. He was born about 1270 and died in 1330, living through the whole of the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.

It is this Robert, the last of the race, to whom our attention will now be turned.

On the death of his brother, in 1297, he succeeded to the chief part of the family possessions, was immediately summoned to perform the usual military and parliamentary services; amongst other duties, taking part in the important discussions in the Parliament held at Lincoln, in the 29th of Edward I., when the presumptuous claims of Boniface VIIIth to the sovereignty of Scotland were disposed of; and, in fact, occupying one of the most prominent positions as a Baron of the realm in all the important affairs of the period. To this Parliament he was called under the style and title of Dominus de Hawardyn, in consequence of holding that demesne.⁵

The Montalts were hereditary seneschals of Chester through seven descents, having originally derived their name (Domini de Moaldis) as early as the middle of the twelfth century, from the lordship of Mold. It is more

⁵ Their descent, as well as many important facts connected with their history, is ably given in Mr. Ormerod's

privately printed volume, entitled, *Miscellanea Palatina*.

than probable that at this place they originally resided ; but for greater security they were subsequently induced to choose the strongly entrenched fortifications of Hawarden. It was on this majestic eminence that the last of the family erected the buildings which even still, in their ruins, overawe the surrounding plains of Cheshire, Denbighshire, and Flint. This fortress is no less conspicuous throughout a great extent of country, than remarkable for its architectural character. It is a building unlike others of the time, and therefore merits a short description.

The site, as has already been stated, is very commanding. There seems good reason for supposing it to have been a stronghold of the aborigines, the strength and nature of the circumvallations that wind round the hill on which Montalt built his castle, offering a protection which was too advantageous to be neglected. These earthworks are not so vast as those at Old Sarum, or those at Old Oswestry, which are much nearer, but they evidently belong to as remote a period, and are very similar to them. It was in the centre, and on the summit of these great earthworks, that the last Seneschal of the family fixed his castle; a situation in all respects worthy of his choice. Nature dictated the form it assumed, and the circular keep, still in great part existing, shows the success attending such a conception. It is of a most unusual form, perhaps unique; for during the reign of Edward II. it was not the practice to erect a keep, and, therefore, this at Hawarden must be considered the latest specimen.

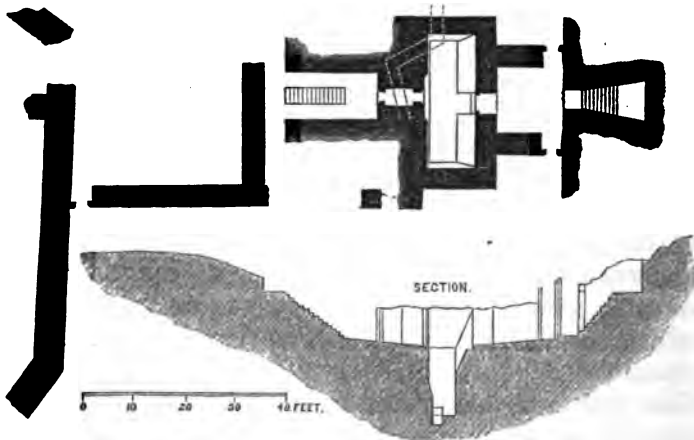
When it is assigned to the time of Edward II., the date is assumed, not from any documentary evidence we possess respecting it, but because the mouldings of the chief entrance plainly show that it belongs to the middle of his reign. Flint had been built thirty years before Robert de Montalto raised the walls of this singular circular keep. We say, raised the walls, as he probably used the foundations of a Norman castle ; and in proof of this there exists sufficient evidence on the Welsh Rolls, which record that before the great Edward had conquered the Principality, the castle of Hawarden was besieged and burnt by the Welsh in 1282.⁶ Roger

⁶ Rex dilecto et fideli suo Rogero de Mortuo Mari Salutem. Accepimus quod quidam malefactores Walenses, propriæ salutis immemores, noctanter usque ad

castrum nostrum de Hawardyn cum equis et armis accedentes, dilectum et fidelem nostrum Rogerum de Clifford et familiares suos secum in eodem Castro

de Clifford, who held it for the king, was carried away as prisoner, and such destruction of the Castle of Hawarden followed, that Roger de Mortimer was appointed to redress these outrages. Roger, the brother of Robert de Montalto, had married De Clifford's daughter; but having no issue, on his death in 1297, the possession fell to Robert his heir, and it was undoubtedly this Robert, the last of his line, who re-erected the castle.

The building is in the form of a pentagon, with a circular keep, reached by many steps, at the western angle. All its proportions and details are of the second Edwardian period; for example, the swell chamfers, and shouldered headings to its windows, doors, and passages. A small chapel exists in the chief floor (E.) of the keep, constructed in the thickness of the wall on the north-east side. A portion of the great hall



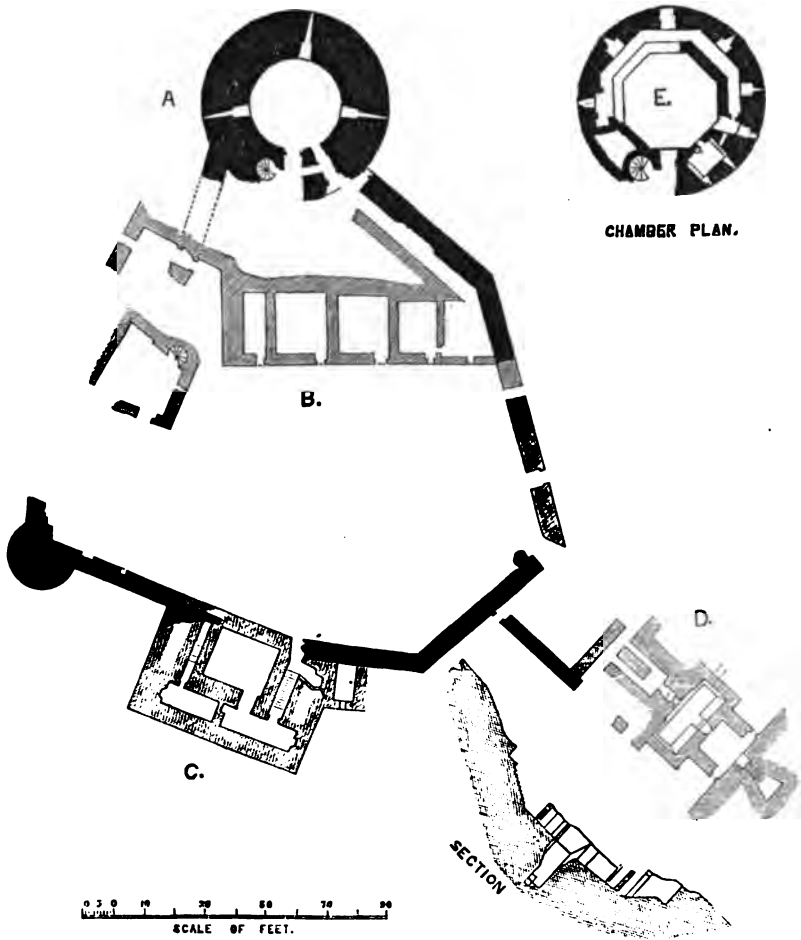
Plan of the outworks on north-east side of Hawarden Castle.

(C.) remains, and there are other buildings (D.) without the *enceinte*, of a character so unusual that it has proved

existentes insultum fecerunt, et quosdam ex ipsis interfecerunt, et domos castri illius combusserunt, et præfatum Rogerum ceperunt et secum abduxerunt, et captum tenent, et insuper fautores sui consocii maliciæ prædictæ ad castrum nostrum de Flynt felonice accesserunt et quasdam domos ibidem ut potuerunt incendebant, et quosdam ex hominibus nostris ibidem inventos interficiebant, et in partibus illis deprædationes, homicidia,

incendia, et alia enormia perpetrabant contra pacem nostram. Nos, de fidelitate, circumspectione, et industria vestris expertis ad plenum confidentes, constituimus vos capitaneum nostrum in partibus illis ad hujusmodi malefactores insequendos et capiendos, prout conservationi pacis nostræ magis videritis expedire, &c. 25 die Martii.—Welsh Roll 10 Edw. I. m. 10.

WEST.



GROUND PLAN OF HAWARDEN CASTLE, FLINTSHIRE.

FROM A SURVEY MADE BY MR. JAMES HARRISON, OF CHESTER, 1857.

- A. The Keep. B. Offices. C. The Hall. D. Chambers, use unknown.
 E. Upper story of the Keep. The Chapel is on the north-east side.

impracticable satisfactorily to ascertain their intention. It was during a visit to these remains, when the Archaeological Institute met at Chester, that the opportunity was afforded of hearing various conjectures that were made by some of the members as to the use of these curious buildings.⁷ It was discussed on the spot whether they were sewers, garderobes, cisterns, or places of confinement; and the evidence in favour of each was negatively balanced; so that, in fact, even



Hawarden Castle, showing the remains of the Keep.

antiquarian speculation left the question unsolved, and this pyrgological enigma still continues a perplexity to exercise the ingenuity of future inquirers.⁸

⁷ Mr. Harrison, who has carefully examined these remains with the practical eye of the architect, is of opinion that these buildings may have formed a postern-gate of great security against surprise. The wide pit-fall in the middle of the work appears to have been traversed by a draw-bridge, and it was provided with means for filling it with water. The termination of the buildings towards the outer works with a flight of steps might have formed, as he supposed, the basement of a turret, communicating with some of the works which may have occupied the mound beyond, towards the north-east. No traces, however, of any superstructure are to be found, nor any appearance of a continuation of the steps

or passage, which terminates in a singular dove-tail shaped landing, the wall at the extremity being perfect to the height of 6 feet 4 inches from the floor of the landing-place, as shown in the section. Mr. Harrison observes that this supposed postern appears to be of precisely the same date as the keep, and one of the doorways still exists with the shouldered head, similar to those seen in that part of the building, as before described.

⁸ The plan of Hawarden Castle, given in Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, 1773, vol. i. may be referred to for comparison with the plan accompanying this memoir. It gives the surrounding earthworks and some portions of the buildings which are no longer to be discerned.

A few paces over the softest verdure that fairy footsteps ever trod, bring us amid the shade of ancient oaks to the handsome residence of Montalt's later successor in this noble inheritance, who, though not invested with the office of Seneschal of the Palatinate, represents the Crown as Lord Lieutenant of Flintshire. The Institute may justly feel gratified that such an historic memorial should belong to one of its most valued and zealous members. Long may he continue to possess, as he will undoubtedly, affectionately preserve, a feudal castle so picturesque and sublime.⁹

A few words more, and the chief remaining facts in the history of the last Montalt's life are placed before the reader. He married Emma, the widow of Richard Fitz-John, and was amongst the few summoned to meet the "she-wolf of France" as a bride, on her landing at Dover. With his wife,¹ they were the first persons named to attend at her coronation; and it was, perhaps, owing to this early intercourse that a friendship subsequently arose which led him to leave to the queen the demesnes inherited from his ancestors, namely, Castle Rising, where Isabella afterwards passed twenty-seven years of her worthless existence, the city of Coventry, and the Castle of Hawarden.

CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

⁹ The Institute is indebted to the kindness of Sir Stephen Glynne for the plan of Hawarden Castle, which accompanies this memoir. By his direction, an accurate survey was undertaken, and this plan prepared by Mr. James Harrison, of Chester, on the occasion of the meeting of the Society in that city.

¹ Robert de Montalto, who died in 1329, was buried in the Priory of Should-

ham, Norfolk, and Emma, his wife, was buried in the nave of Stradset church, in that county. When Blomefield wrote his History, an inscription still remained to her memory in these words,—
Ici · gist · dame · Emma · de · Mounaut ·
femme · de · deux · Barons · Dieu · par ·
sa · pitie · avez · merci · de · sa · ame ·—
Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. iv. p. 176.

THE SIGNET-RING AND SILVER BELL OF MARY
QUEEN OF SCOTS.

AMONGST the recent acquisitions by which the National Collection has been enriched, few objects are to be found which will be viewed by many visitors to the British Museum with greater interest than the Signet-ring of Mary Stuart. This little relic, associated as it is with one of the most tragic and touching passages in the romance of history, is scarcely less remarkable for the tasteful perfection of its workmanship, than for its undeniable authenticity. It is familiar to many of our readers, through the kindness of its late possessor, Mr. Richard Greene, F.S.A., who permitted it to be produced on several occasions at the meetings of the Institute.

It were now a fruitless task to seek to discover through what means this ring might have passed into the possession of the Queen of George III. No earlier trace of its existence has been found than the notice in the Account of Royal and Baronial Seals of Scotland, communicated by Astle to the Society of Antiquaries, in 1792, and published in the *Vetusta Monumenta*. The impression of the ring is there figured on an enlarged scale, and described as "from a seal of Mary Queen of Scots, in the royal collection at the Queen's House; it is set in gold, and has the letters M. R. in a cipher on the back of the seal. This seems to be a royal seal which she used after her return into Scotland."¹ It may seem scarcely needful to observe that Buckingham House, in St. James's Park, having been settled by Parliament, in 1775, on Queen Charlotte in lieu of Somerset House, was called "The Queen's House." The ring came into the possession of the late Duke of York; and at the sale by Christie of his plate and jewels, in March, 1827, it was purchased by Mr. Greene for fourteen guineas.² In 1842 a notice was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by

¹ *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii. p. 12, pl. xxvi. fig. 8.

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² *Gent. Mag.* vol. xcvi. part 1, p. 359.

Mr. Greene, and on a subsequent occasion the ring was exhibited.³

The ring is of gold, massive in fashion, and weighs 212 grains. The hoop has been chased with foliage and flowers, and enameled; it appears to have been much worn, and very few traces of enamel remain, although the outlines of



the design may be discerned. The impress is the royal achievement engraved on a piece of crystal or white sapphire of oval form, measuring about three-quarters of an inch by five-eighths. The arms are those of Scotland, here given on an enlarged scale.⁴ The crest, on a helmet with mantlings and ensigned with a crown, is a lion sejant, affronté, crowned, holding in his dexter paw a naked sword, and in

the sinister a sceptre, both bendwise. Above the crest appears the motto *IN DEFENS*, and lower down, the initials *M. R.* The shield is surrounded by the collar of the Thistle, with the badge, and supported by two unicorns chained and ducally gorged. On the dexter side there is a banner charged with the arms of Scotland; on the sinister another with three bars, over all a saltire.⁵ The arms of Scotland, as they appear on this ring, with supporters, banners, and motto, occur in other instances during the times of Mary. Mr. Greene had pointed out the engraved achievement in the edition of Lesley's treatise "*de origine, moribus, et rebus gestis Scotorum*," 1578, which corresponds almost in every particular, with the exception that the sinister banner is charged with a saltire within a bordure,

³ This paper was read 24th Nov. 1842, but not printed. The ring was exhibited 7th Dec. 1848. *Proceedings*, vol. i. p. 290.

⁴ This achievement is figured in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii. pl. xxvi.; Laing's *Catalogue of Scottish Seals*, p. 228; and *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 355. I am indebted to Mr. Laing for the use of the woodcut given above.

⁵ The practice in regard to the banners accompanying the royal arms of Scotland does not appear to have been uniform. On the earliest Great Seal of Mary both the banners placed behind the

arms seem to display a saltire, passed through an open crown at the intersection of the limbs. The like banners appear on her Great Seal as Queen of Scotland and Dowager of France, appended to one of the Morton Charters, dated 1564. In some MS. Scottish Heraldic collections, of the time of James VI., for which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Wellesley, the sinister banner in the King of Scots' arms is, *vert*, a saltire *argent*, fringed with the same tinctures, company.

which apparently is not intended to represent the fringe; and that a motto is introduced beneath the arms, and is *OPTIMAM PARTEM ELEGIT*. Mr. Joseph Robertson has moreover pointed out to me that this type of the Scottish arms occurs previously to the reign of Mary, an example being found on the title-page of Bellenden's Translation of Hector Boece's History of Scotland, written in 1531, and printed between that date and 1542. The date of the achievement is fixed by the inscription, *IACOBVS · REX · 5*. James V. reigned from 1513 to 1542. The same woodcut apparently was used in the Acts of Parliament of Scotland, printed at Edinburgh in 1566, the name *MARIA REGINA* being substituted for that of her father: and in the Acts of Parliament of King James VI. printed at Edinburgh, in 1568, the arms being in that instance accompanied by the name *IACOBVS · REX · 6*.

It is remarkable that the heraldic tinctures are represented on the back of the engraved stone, either by enameling or by painting, and the field or background is coloured dark blue. This mode of ornamentation is found in some of the fine Italian works of the period, of which the enameled Pax of the order of the Saint Esprit, now in the Louvre, is a striking example. It is fully described by Count De Laborde, in his valuable catalogue of the enamels in that collection, with a special notice of "*Cristaux peints*," and of other specimens existing in France.⁶

This mode of giving an enriched effect to an intaglio is comparatively uncommon. The most remarkable example known to me is the ring of Jean *Sans-Peur*, Duke of Burgundy, assassinated in 1419. It was found in 1792 in his tomb, and came into the possession of the Baron Van Hoorn, from whose collection it passed into that of the celebrated Denon. It is thus described:—"Un saphir blanc, taillé en table, et sur lequel sont gravées les armes de Bourgogne: ce cachet est monté en bague d'or de travail ancien; sous la pierre sont coloriées les *métaux* et les *émaux* de la famille dont elle offre l'écusson."⁷ Some examples of less elaborate character than the signet of Mary Stuart are in the rich *Dactylotheca* of Mr. Edmund Waterton, F.S.A.

Within the hoop of the ring there is a cipher, originally

⁶ Notice des Emaux, Bijoux et Objets divers exposés dans les Galeries du Louvre: par M. De Laborde. Paris,

1853; pp. 141, 143.

⁷ Description du Cabinet du Baron Denon; Monuments Historiques, p. 123.

enameled ; it is here represented on an enlarged scale. It is inclosed within a band and ensigned by a crown. The band had been enameled with white, of which two portions remained when the ring came into Mr. Greene's possession, amounting together to nearly half the circumference. I have been informed by Mr.



Franks, that some very small fragments of white enamel remain in the circular band ; a portion of red is to be seen at the top of the upstroke of the M, on the sinister side ; there are traces of pale blue or greyish white in the oval of the monogram, as also in the central upstroke. On some of the leaves on the exterior of the hoop remains of green enamel may be discerned. It had been conjectured that the motto *Nemo me impune lacessit*, or *Optimam partem elegit*, might have been painted upon the white band in black enamel. If, however, any inscription was originally there to be seen, it may more probably have been the anagram *Sa vertu m'attire*, which will be noticed hereafter as connected with the cipher in question.

Sir Henry Ellis, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries, stated his conviction, when the ring was brought under his notice, that inquiry "would probably identify it either as an affiancing, or what was still more probable, as a bridal ring of the unhappy Queen. It was evidently made for a female finger. In my own belief (observes Sir Henry) I took it for what it certainly now appears to have been, her nuptial ring."⁸ In explaining the ground of this opinion, Sir Henry sets forth the several forms in which, at different periods of her reign, Mary bore the Scottish arms, commencing with those of Scotland alone, before her marriage with the Dauphin in 1558, and, after certain changes, as Dauphine, Queen Consort, and Queen Dowager of France, she finally reverted to the coat of Scotland alone subsequently to her marriage with Darnley in 1565. Whilst searching the Scottish Correspondence at the State Paper Office, in the fruitless endeavour to discover some letter bearing an impression of the signet-ring, Sir Henry Ellis noticed in the letter from Mary to Queen Elizabeth, dated

⁸ *Archæologia*, vol. xxxii. p. 355. These observations were read in Jan. 1850.

15 June (1565), and thus subscribed, *Votre tres affectionnee et fidelle bonne sœur et cousine Marie R.*, the remarkable accompaniment of a cipher closely resembling that which appears within the ring. (See woodcut.)⁹

"The monogram," Sir Henry observes, "both here and within the hoop of Mr. Greene's ring, is identical, and is clearly formed of the letters M and A."

The comparison of the two gives countenance to the opinion that the written monogram was intended for Elizabeth and Burghley to study; the subsequent creation of the title of Duke of Albany in Lord Darnley ultimately opening their eyes to the enigma."

With all deference to the opinion of an antiquary of such sagacity and experience as Sir Henry Ellis, this interpretation can scarcely be accepted, even if we are content to pass over the improbability, apparently regarded by him as of slight moment, that Mary should have selected for such a device the initial of a title, which it was her intention at some future time to confer upon Darnley. It is believed that at the period when the letter bearing this signature was written, he was not merely her accepted suitor, but that their marriage had actually been celebrated in private at Stirling Castle, early in April, 1565.¹ It was, however, only shortly before the public solemnisation of their nuptials, on July 29, that Mary created Darnley Duke of Albany. It is obvious that Sir Henry's proposed explanation is liable to a serious objection, since it leaves wholly unnoticed a considerable portion of the monogram; the oval, the central stroke, and a character introduced at each side of it resembling an E, which is not found in the monogram within the ring.

A third example of the monogram has been brought to light, which had not come to the knowledge of Sir Henry Ellis; it may be numbered amongst the interesting results of the extensive collections in illustration of Scottish History and Antiquities, contributed with most kind liberality for



⁹ A facsimile of the entire signature may be seen in the *Archæologia*, *ut supra*, p. 357, from which the portion given above has been copied. The letter had been printed by Prince Labanoff, *Recueil*, tome i. p. 273, without noticing

the peculiarity of the signature. No impression of the ring has been found on any letter or other document.

¹ The proof of this private marriage is found in the *Memoir*, Labanoff, *Supplement*, tome vii. p. 67.

exhibition in the Museum of the Institute, at the meeting in Edinburgh in July, 1856.

Amongst the valuable objects associated with the memory of Mary Stuart, heirlooms of the ancient family of Bruce of Kennet, a relic of singular interest had been preserved, namely, the small silver hand-bell of which a representation accompanies these notices. There can be little doubt that it was one of the objects of personal use, which habitually garnished the chamber of the captive Queen, and it is perhaps the identical "*clochète*" described in the inventories of those valuable effects, the relics of former state, which she was permitted to retain until the cruel termination of her life at Fotheringhay. Of this it must be admitted that the evidence is deficient, since no positive information can be adduced to prove by what means the silver bell passed into the possession of the ancestors of the Bruce family; but it is certain that Mary was accustomed to make use of such a bell, which, in accordance with the fashion of the time, accompanied the "*escritoyre*" and other furniture of her table.² The personal devices, however, found on the bell under consideration appear to afford no slight argument in favour of the supposition that it may have been her companion throughout her prolonged captivity. In the will made by Mary, when suffering from sickness at Sheffield, in February, 1577, she bequeathed to her secretary Nau, by whose hand that document was written, the following precious objects: "A Nau, mon grand diamant, ma grande escritoyre d'argent aux bords dorez, et la closchète de mesme."³ In the inventory of Mary Stuart's jewels and plate, taken, as it is believed, at Chartley, during the time when she was suddenly removed to Tixall, in August, 1586, there occur, amongst the "Joyaulx, vaisselle d'argent, et autres besongnes, au cabinet," the items, "Un grand escriptoire d'argent ouvragé, doré par parcelles;" and "Une clochette d'argent de sus la table de Sa Majesté."⁴ Again, in the inventory of the jewels, plate,

² A small hand-bell appears repeatedly in portraits of the sixteenth century. The portrait of Sir Robert Cecil by Mark Garrard in the Duke of Bedford's collection may be cited as an example; the bell appears placed on a table at his side; as likewise in the portrait of Archbishop Parker at Lambeth; in that instance it is accompanied by a small

casket, probably an inkstand, and a seal.

³ Labanoff, *Recueil de Lettres*, tome iv. p. 360. The original, partly in Mary's own hand, is preserved in the British Museum, Cott. MS. Vesp. c. xvi. fol. 145.

⁴ Labanoff, *Recueil*, tome vii. p. 247. It may be observed that two other *escritoyres* are enumerated, one of them of silver, but no other *clochette* appears.



Silver-plat Hand-bell

Height, $\frac{1}{4}$ in.

Relics of Mary Queen of Scots, in possession of Robert Bruce, Esq., of Kennet, Clackmannanshire.



Queen Mary's "Caudle Cup."

Height, 5 in.

money, and other goods remaining in the custody of the several servants of the late Queen of Scots, taken at Fotheringhay, Feb. 20, 1586-87, there are found, amongst plate in the custody of Elizabeth Curle, "A candlestick of silver gilt; a little silver bell; two standishes of silver, the one playn, the other gilt in the edges."⁵

The bell, now in the possession of Robert Bruce, Esq., of Kennet, Clackmannanshire, by whose kindness it was exhibited with other relics of Mary Stuart, in the Museum at the meeting of the Institute in Edinburgh, measures about 4 inches in height, the handle included; the diameter at the mouth measures $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Around its waist, externally, are engraved, 1, the royal arms of Scotland, the shield ensigned by a low arched crown, with strawberry leaves alternately with fleurs-de-lys, as on her Scottish seals. 2, the monogram composed of the Greek letters Chi and Rho, signifying the name of Our Lord, within a circle inscribed with the words IN HOC VINCE 86, and at the close of the inscription a trefoil slipped. 3. On the side opposite to the last, the *impresa*, a vine of which a moiety is dead and leafless; a hand issuing from clouds above and holding a pruning bill cuts off the dead wood: on a circular band around this device are the words VIRESCIT · VVLNERE · VIRTVS⁶ This *impresa* is identical in all details with that on one of four of Mary's silver jetons, of which examples exist in the collections of Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Benjamin Nightingale. This piece, it may be observed, bears on the obverse the arms of Scotland only, under an arched crown, as on the bell, with the legend MARIA · DEI · G · SCOTOR · REGINA ·; whereas the other counters, in dimensions and workmanship precisely similar, display the arms of France dimidiated by those of Scotland, with the legend MARIA · D · G · SCOTORV · REGINA · FRAN · DOI. The jeton just described bears no date, each of the other three is dated 1579. That year, it will be remembered, was the eleventh of Mary's captivity; she was at that time

⁵ Labanoff, *ibid.*, p. 362.

⁶ De Bie, in his description of this piece, adds the date 1557; no date appears in the engraving of the reverse amongst the medals of Mary Stuart in Mezeray, *Hist. de France*, tome ii., p. 807. These pieces, sometimes described as medals, were evidently counters for arithmetical calculation. The Motto

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Virescit vulnere virtus, with the *impresa* above described, was embroidered by Mary's own hand on a cushion which she sent in Sept. 1589, from Wingfield, to Lesley, Bishop of Ross. It displayed the arms of Scotland, beneath which there was the hand pruning the vine. See Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 21.

at Sheffield in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. The jetons appear to be of French workmanship, and they may have been a new year's gift from some of Mary's relations in foreign parts.⁷ 4. This device is the monogram or cipher before described as to be seen within the hoop of Mary's signet-ring; here it is ensigned by an arched crown, and enclosed within a band inscribed thus, SA · VERTV · MATIRE. This motto, which is an anagram of Mary's name, occurs in the description of devices embroidered on a bed wrought by her, as stated in a letter from Drummond of Hawthornden, to Ben Jonson. "I have been ourious," writes the poet, "to find out for you the impresas and emblems on a bed of state, wrought and embroidered all with gold and silke by the late Quene Marie, mother to our sacred Soverayne, which will embellish greatly some pages of your booke, and is worthye of remembrance. The first is the loadstone turning towards the pole, the words, her Majesties name turned into an anagram, MARIA STEUART, SA VERTU MATIRE, which is not much inferiour to VERITAS ARMATA."⁸

The bell preserved at Kennet had been traditionally designated as a "mass-bell." It appears, however, most improbable that it was destined for any sacred use. There is an enigmatical device engraved within the bell, which has been supposed to show that its use was of the ordinary kind at that period, simply to summon the Queen's attendants to her presence. Within the bell are engraved concentric circles, with lines radiating from the central point where the clapper is attached. These lines, as shown in the accompanying woodcut, point to certain letters and numerals engraved within the circles. The letters have been read, commencing from the circle nearest the rim of the bell, CLAMAT SVAS, she calls her attendants; departing a little from the order which the circles seem to indicate, and passing over the numerals. This may seem too arbitrary a process to be quite satisfactory. It is possible that the letters are initials, and the

⁷ These elegantly designed counters were very probably an accompaniment of the standish and other appliances on the Queen's writing table, being used with a kind of *Abacus* for casting accounts. They are doubtless identical with the counters described in the Inventory taken at Chartley, August, 1586. Under "Joyaulx, &c. au cabinet" are

entered—"Bourses de veloux vert, garnyes de jetons d'argent aux armes de sa Majesté." Labanoff, tome vii. p. 246.

⁸ Letter dated July 1, 1619, printed in Drummond's History, 1655, p. 137, and edited for the Shakspeare Society, 1842, by David Laing, with careful collation of the MS.

numerals ciphers for names or words. The figures have been read 43, and it has been suggested that they may refer to Mary's coronation by Cardinal Beaton, on Sept. 9, 1543, when she was only nine months old. Another conjecture would explain these figures as indicating the age of Mary, at the period when this device was engraved. There is no event in the year of her age, from Dec. 8, 1584 to Dec. 8, 1585, to which the device seems referable, nor can we discover any memorable occurrence in her thirty-fourth year that throws light on the obscure intention of these numerals.

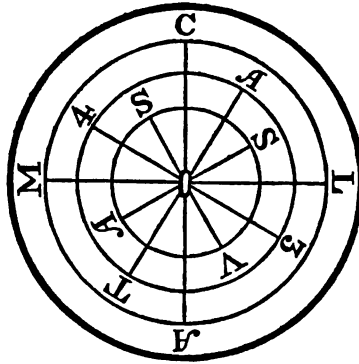


Diagram showing the interior of the Silver Hand-bell of Mary Queen of Scots.

Diameter of the Original, $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.

It is remarkable that the number, 43, is precisely the moiety of that occurring with the inscription *IN HOC VINCE*, in the device before described, engraved on the external surface of the bell. Both of these mysterious numbers may have been intelligible only through some of the secret ciphers used by Mary Stuart in her correspondence.⁹ I am indebted, however, to Mr. Augustus Franks, Dir. S. A., for the observation, that whilst the figures 43 are possibly allusive to Mary's coronation in 1543, the figures 86, which accompany the motto around the sacred monogram of the Saviour's name, before described, may be explained by the date of her death, Feb. 8, 1586; since, according to the

⁹ It is well known that Mary's partisans, or the persons with whom she maintained secret correspondence, were designated by numbers. The dispatches seized upon Baillie at Dover, in April, 1671, were addressed 40 and 30, con-

jectured to indicate the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Lumley. Turnbull, *Letters of Mary*, p. 57. See in Labanoff, t. vi. p. 259, the subtle expedients used by Mary in her secret correspondence.

Old Style, the year 1587, in which it has been commonly stated that the execution of Mary occurred, did not commence until March 25. It may deserve consideration, in connexion with the explanation thus proposed, that both the *Imprese* engraved on the bell appear to show, on minute examination, appearances of later workmanship than the arms and crowned cipher; and the device, with the appropriate motto *In hoc vince*, and the numerals possibly indicating a date, may have been added subsequently to her death.

I will now revert to the monogram, of which no satisfactory interpretation has hitherto been given; and I would here acknowledge with gratification my obligations to the friendly assistance of Mr. Weston S. Walford, F.S.A., to whom we are indebted for the true solution, as I believe, of the enigma. On the revival of the study of Greek in Western Europe, there arose among those acquainted with that language a fancy for the adoption of Greek names, and for the use of Greek characters for ciphers.¹ Menestrier, in his *Véritable Art du Blason, ou l'Usage des Armoiries*, observes, "Sous




Francois I. on affecta de mettre en divers endroits des chiffres Grecs de son nom, Φ, parceque ce Prince avoit rétably les lettres et cette langue sçavante. On voit aussi en quelques endroits des Α. pour Louys XII., et on l'a continué pour Louys XIII. aux ornemens des vignettes de l'impression du Louvre, particulièrement pour les ouvrages Grecs."² Among the ciphers in the original collar of the Order of the Holy Spirit, founded by Henry III. of France in 1578,

¹ A remarkable illustration of the familiar use of the Greek language at this period is supplied by the history of Henry IV. In the lotteries termed *Blanque*, one of the diversions of the Court of Charles IX. in 1563 and 1564, the tickets of the young Prince of Navarre, then in his tenth year, were inscribed, Η νικᾷν η ἀποδανειν. He was repeatedly a winner, and Catherine de

Medicis sought in vain to learn from himself the signification of the device; when explained to her, she forbade his being taught such ambitious phrases. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the favourite motto of the Connestable Montmorency—ΑΠΑΝΟΞ.

² Menestrier, *Véritable Art du Blason*, Paris, 1673, 12mo. p. 22.

was Λ , (Lambda) for Queen Louisa. It formed part of a cipher with H, so that it might be read both from below and above.³ The other ciphers, here shown, are stated to have been "reserved in the king's own mind, of other persons his favorites." An example of this collar on the binding of a book is noticed in a recent number of the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.⁴ In the collar of the Order of the Holy Magdalen, which was proposed to be instituted in France in 1614, was to have been a cipher composed of M. Λ . Λ ,  for the initials of the Magdalen, Louis XIII., and his Queen, Anne of Austria.⁵ Frederic, King of Bohemia, who married the Princess Elizabeth of England, the granddaughter of Mary Queen of Scots, used two Phis, intersecting each other. In the inventory of the jewels of Elizabeth his Queen we find the following items: "Ane pictour box of gold q'in is conteaned in the on syd the king of Boheme his portrait, the cover q'of is sett with diamonts eftir this forme $\Phi\Phi$, conteining twa J. deciphered withine two oo, resembling twa great l'res [letters] Φ , for Frederick the king his name."⁶ The writer of the inventory evidently mistook the intersection of the two Phis for an Omicron. The duplication of ciphers, which might be read in any direction, was then in vogue. His Queen Elizabeth used a cipher consisting of two Es, or Epsilons, intersecting each other, which is mentioned in the same inventory, and is subscribed by her to the letters which are printed with a woodcut of the cipher in the Archæologia, vol. xxxvii., p. 225. The cipher of Frederic also appears on a small seal, with which two letters written by his sons, Prince Frederick Henry and Prince Rupert when children, to Lady Morton and Lady Apsley, are sealed.⁷ (See woodcut, double the original size).



³ See Favine's, Theatre of Honour, English translation published at London, 1623, Book iii. ch. 7, pp. 389, 391.

⁴ Vol. iv. p. 125.

⁵ See Favine, *ut supra*, pp. 551, 553. The collar could not have been devised until the year following, viz. 1615, when Louis XIII. espoused Anne of Austria. It is possible that the cipher may have been originally intended to be wholly

royal, and to be composed of the initials of Mary de Medicis, then Regent, but subsequently in disgrace, together with those of the young king and his consort.

⁶ Notes and Queries, vol. i. New Series, p. 195.

⁷ These letters have been printed in the Sussex Archæological Collections, vol. iv. p. 223.

If we take into consideration the use of Greek characters for ciphers in the sixteenth century, there can be no difficulty in accepting the monogram on the ring and the bell of Mary Queen of Scots as composed of the Greek Phi and Mu. Indeed, from the fact of the lines forming these two characters both on the ring and the bell being differently marked, as if for distinction, (the Φ on the latter being shaded, and the other strokes left plain,) there can be no reasonable doubt of these being the characters; and if so, they can scarcely be intended for anything else than the initials of Francis and Mary. The monogram is in both instances accompanied by the arms of Scotland only, as used by Mary previously to her first marriage, and subsequently to her alliance with Darnley; and it is probable that both ring and bell were engraved in France during the interval between her betrothal to the Dauphin, Aug. 1548, and their marriage, April 24, 1558.⁸ This supposition appears to be in a great degree confirmed by the piece, probably a silver counter, given by Cardonnel, presenting on one side the Scottish arms, as on the jetons already described, and on the other the ungraceful monogram frequently found on Mary's coins, consisting of F. and M. combined, under a crown, with the motto *DILIGITE · IVSTICIAM · 1553*. The use of this cipher, several years before her marriage with the Dauphin, has been the subject of much conjecture amongst numismatists, but all difficulty vanishes if this piece is regarded as a jeton struck during her residence in France after her betrothal. Mary's gold coinage of the same year displayed a complicated cipher which may be read *MARIA R ·* or *MARIA REGINA*. These ciphers are so ungraceful, more especially the combination of F.M., that they may serve in some degree to account for the substitution of Greek characters, in conformity with the fashion of the period, and especially when used on a tasteful ornament of personal use.

It has been previously remarked that the monogram which accompanies Mary's signature to the letter addressed to Queen Elizabeth, as described by Sir Henry Ellis, is not identical with that on the ring. It differs in the addition of the letters E, of which no explanation has been offered.

⁸ It must be noticed that both on the ring and the bell the crown is of a highly arched form, and with large fleurs-

de-lys, resembling the crown of France, and differing from the more depressed crown seen over the arms of Scotland.

It has been suggested, with much probability, that Mary, being attached to the cipher she had previously used, composed of the Greek Φ and \mathbf{M} , may, when it was no longer appropriate, have by the addition of two Es (Epsilons), converted it into \mathbf{MAPIE} , written in Greek characters, the Φ being read as two Rhos, *dos-à-dos*. This suggestion supposes an unwillingness to depart from the original cipher further than was necessary. Whilst it must be admitted that to render this reading completely satisfactory, the down stroke of the Rhos should have been lengthened, we must remember that ciphers of this description were intended to be read not only backwards and forwards, but also upside down. Whether this explanation be accepted or not, it is evident that the addition of the Es renders this a different cipher; no difficulty, therefore, which may present itself in this instance, necessarily affects the proposed interpretation of the cipher in its simpler or earlier form.

In conclusion, I will briefly enumerate the other relics of Mary Stuart in Mr. Bruce's possession, and which, with the kindest liberality, he permitted to be produced both at the meeting in Edinburgh, and in the collection exhibited by the Institute last summer. The most important, as an example of mediæval art, is a large covered ciborium of copper, richly enameled with scriptural subjects. It bears considerable resemblance in form to the celebrated *Coupe d'Alpaïs*, in the collection of enamels in the Louvre; and it is one of the finest existing specimens of the *champlevé* process of the art of enamel in the twelfth century.⁹ This, as also the bell and other precious objects preserved at Kennet, is traditionally regarded as having been given by Mary to her faithful partisan, Sir James Balfour, deputy-governor of Edinburgh Castle under the Earl of Bothwell. He espoused the heiress of Balfour of Burleigh, and these valuable possessions passed, as it is stated, to the family of Bruce of Kennet by marriage with the heiress of the fifth Lord Burleigh. I have sought to trace this beautiful vessel in the inventories of Mary's jewels and effects; and it may possibly have been described in the "Inventair of the Queene Regentis movables," received by Servay de Conde, valet of chamber to the Queen

⁹ A detailed description of this ciborium is given by Mr. Franks in his *Observations on Enamel*, in "The Art

Treasures of the United Kingdom," published by Messrs. Day.

in 1562, under the item of enameled objects, "Ane lawer with a cowp and a cover of copper ennamallit."¹

Another object of considerable interest is the so-called "Caudle-cup" of Queen Mary, formed apparently of agate, with silver gilt mountings and handle. I am indebted to the skilful pencil of Mr. George Scharf, jun., for the drawing from which the accompanying representation has been prepared, and its accuracy renders it unnecessary to offer any detailed description. It may, however, deserve notice that it is probably of Scottish workmanship, the mounting having the plate-mark, an unicorn's head erased. The ornaments on the handle are a lion's head and a rose, both in relief. The *ciborium*, accompanied by the silver bell and agate cup, appears in the group of interesting objects forming a frontispiece to the Photographs from Portraits of Mary Stuart, admirably reproduced by Caldesi and Montecchi for the Series recently published by Messrs. Colnaghi.

A few objects of minor interest are likewise preserved at Kennet as associated with the memory of Mary; these consist of silver spoons, and a richly ornamented handle of bloodstone, mounted with gold, and exquisitely enameled, possibly of Italian workmanship. It apparently may have been intended as the handle of a fan of feathers, or some similar appliance which might suitably grace even a royal hand. A circular fan of yellow ostrich feathers tipped with red appears in Mary's hand in the portrait attributed to her in the episcopal palace at Gloucester. An inscription, however, of later date than the portrait states that it represents Queen Elizabeth. Miss Strickland has pointed out the ruby heart ensigned by the Scottish crown, forming the centre of the fan, and which she regards as the cognisance of Darnley's maternal ancestors of the house of Douglas.²

ALBERT WAY.

¹ Collection of Inventories of the Royal Wardrobe, &c., edited by Thomas Thomson, Esq., Edinburgh, 1816, p. 158.

² Lives of the Queens of Scotland, vol. v. p. 41. Such a crowned heart, formerly in possession of the Duke of Sussex, and accompanied by a note in his hand writing, stating that it had belonged

to Mary Stuart, was contributed by Mr. Henry Farrer, F.S.A., to the collection of Portraits and Memorials of Mary, exhibited by the Institute in June, 1857. It had possibly been originally appended to the "Douglas Jewel," now in the possession of Her Majesty.

Original Documents.

THE WILL OF SIR JOHN DE FOXLE, OF APULDREFIELD, KENT. DATED NOVEMBER 5, 1378.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. WILLIAM H. GUNNER, M.A.

THE following document has been obtained from the highly valuable source of information to which on several occasions we have been indebted, the Episcopal Register of William of Wykeham which is preserved in the Cathedral at Winchester. Through the kindness of Mr. Gunner we were formerly enabled to place before our readers the Will of Simon, bishop of Achonry, in illustration of the history of Suffragan bishops,¹ and he has now communicated another testamentary document found by him in the same Register. It appears specially deserving of attention, as presenting to the archæologist many curious and instructive details associated with the memory of one who long enjoyed the intimate friendship of Wykeham. The Will, here printed *in extenso*, has never, as we believe, been published, although reference was made to it by Warton in his History of Poetry in England, and recently by Mr. G. S. Steinman, in his Account of the Manor of Apuldrefield, Kent, in which he has supplied in full detail the descent of the testator, his possessions, and the history of his family.²

(Register of William of Wykeham, vol. ii. fol. 169).

Memorandum, quod primo die mensis Decembris, anno domini MCCCLXVIII^o, apud Suthwerke, testamentum Johannis de Foxle, militis, Wyntoniensis Diocesis, exhibitum fuit et probatum coram reverendo in Christo patre, domino Wilhelmo Dei gratia Wyntoniensi Episcopo; et pronuntiavit pro eodem, administrationemque omnium bonorum dicti defuncti infra diocesim predictam existentium magistro Arnaldo Brocas, Johanni de Welton, Roberto de Loxle, et domino Johanni de Foxle clerico commisit in formam juris; reservata facultate sibi dictam administrationem Johanne relicte ejusdem defuncti, executrici cum dictis executoribus in eodem testamento nominate, committendi, cum venerit et ipsam voluerit acceptare. Tenor vero testamenti supradicti de verbo ad verbum sequitur in hec verba.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Johannes de Foxle, miles, compos mentis existens et sane memorie, miliciam hominis super terram mortalem sciens et transitoriam, atque ipsius exitum miserabilem et incertum, verum quia hic militans mutacionem futuram expecto, anime mee saluti cum confidencia clemencie salvatoris ex toto corde providere cupiens, testamentum meum, invocata spiritus sancti gracia, facio in hunc modum. In primis,

¹ Arch. Journal, vol. ix. p. 359.

² Topographer and Genealogist, edited
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by Mr. John Gough Nichols, F.S.A., vol.
iii. p. 13.

do et lego animam meam Deo, gloriose Virgini Marie, et omnibus sanctis, et corpus meum ad sepeliendum in capella omnium sanctorum in ecclesia parochiali de Braye, juxta tumulum patris mei et aliorum antecessorum meorum, cum mortuario debito et consueto; et volo quod expense mee funeraticie (sic) fiant juxta ordinationem executorum meorum subscriptorum. Item, lego ad distribuendum pauperibus die sepulture mee xx^{li}. Item, lego ad celebrationem missarum, secundum ordinationem executorum meorum subscriptorum, habendam pro anima mea, animabus antecessorum et benefactorum meorum, ad altare in capella predicta xx^{li}. Item, lego altari in eadem capella ad usum capellanorum pro animabus predictis, et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum, tam ad dictum altare quam ad alia altaria infra ecclesiam predictam, cum opus fuerit, celebratorum, unum magnum missale coopertum coreo rubeo, unum calicem deauratum cum pede rotundo, cum patena argentea deaurata, ad eundem usum, unum vestimentum sacerdotale, cum alba cum parura de panno serico de bluetto³ cum flourelleceis aureis intermixtis, cum casula de secta dicti panni serici, cum stola et fanone de eadem secta, ad eundem usum in ecclesia predicta. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie predictae l^s. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Fynchamstede vi^s. viii^d. Item, lego summo altari in dicta ecclesia de Fynchamstede unum vestimentum sacerdotale, cum casula, et paruris de panno serico rubeo fade, cum duabus tuniculis de eadem secta. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Wokyngham iii^s. iiiii^d. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Bveralee iii^s. iiiii^d. Item, lego fabrice capelle de Bromeshull iii^s. iiiii^d. Item, lego altari capelle de Bromeshull unum vestimentum sacerdotale, cum paruris et casula de panno serico albo, et aliis ad idem pertinentibus. Item, lego ecclesie Cathedrali Sarum in satisfactionem decimarum obliatarum, si que fuerint, xx^s. Item, lego fabrice ecclesie de Farnebergh juxta Levesham iii^s. iiiii^d.⁴ Item, lego fabrice capelle de Apuldfefeld xiii^s. iiiii^d. Item, lego capelle de Apuldfefeld unum vestimentum sacerdotale, cum casula de panno serico rubeo, cum latis orphreys, et aliis ad idem pertinentibus, et unum missale portatile de usu monialium coopertum coreo rubeo. Item, lego conventui fratrum minorum apud Redyng xiii^s. iiiii^d. Item, lego conventui fratrum predicatorum London' xiii^s. iiiii^d. Item, lego excellentissimo principi et domino meo metuendissimo, domino Regi Anglie, cornu meum magnum de Bugle, ornatum cum auro, quod habui ex dono domini mei, domini Edwardi, nuper Regis Anglie illustris. Item, volo et ordino quod executores mei de bonis patris mei emant unum lapidem marmoreum pro tumulo dicti patris mei et matris mee in capella omnium sanctorum in ecclesia de Braye predicta, et quod faciant dictum lapidem parari decenter cum ymagine, scriptura, etc. de metallo; videlicet, dicti patris mei in armis suis, et matris mee in armis pictis, videlicet, de armis dicti patris mei et matris mee predictae, et volo quod quoad ordinationem dicti lapidis executores mei totaliter faciant juxta ordinationem et consensum domini mei reverendissimi, domini Wyntoniensis Episcopi. Item, volo et dispono quod predicti executores mei emant unum alium lapidem marmoreum sufficientem pro tumulo meo, cum sepultus fuero; et quod dictum lapidem parari faciant cum scriptura et ymagine de metallo, videlicet, mei ipsius in armis meis, et uxoris mee defuncte ex parte dextra dicte ymaginis mee in

³ See Ducange, v. Bluetum, Blavetum, Blavus, &c. "Bloete, étoffe bleue." Roquefort.

⁴ Query? Farnborough in Kent, half-way between Lewisham and Sevenoaks.

armis pictis, videlicet de armis meis et dictæ uxoris mee; et cum ymagine uxoris mee nunc viventis, in armis meis, ex parte sinistra dictæ ymaginis mee. Item, lego Katherine filie mee unum ciphum argenteum deauratum, cum cooperculo deaurato, habentem leonem in summitate. Item, lego Margarete filie mee unum ciphum argenteum deauratum ad modum calicis, cum cooperculo deaurato, habentem in summitate scutum de armis meis. Item, lego Margarete sorori mee unum ciphum argenteum album⁵ ad modum calicis, cum cooperculo argenteo, habentem summitatem deauratam sculptam, et in eadem summitate scutum de armis meis. Item, lego Thome Paynel nepoti meo equum meum dun, unum habergeon de alto clowour, ac unum basynet largiorem, cum le vyser et aventaille ad eundem, et quinque marcas argenti. Item, lego Johanni Feghelere nepoti meo equum meum vocatum Morelhale, et unum habergeon, unum basynet cum le vyser et aventaille ad eundem, et quatuor marcas argenti. Item, lego Johanne Hailleward nepti mee octo libras argenti in quibus sibi teneor de maritaggio suo; et ultra lego eidem octo marcas argenti. Item, lego Johanne consorti mee equum meum vocatum Gantron⁶, equum meum summarium⁶ album, et equum meum pro maletto⁷ nigrum, unum ciphum argenteum deauratum meliorem cum cooperculo habentem similitudinem capitis hominis in summitate dicti cooperculi, unum ciphum argenteum deauratum ad modum byker cum cooperculo deaurato habentem cervum album in summitate jacentem super unum tragum(?),⁸ unum ciphum argenteum album vocatum bolle cum cooperculo signato in summitate dicti cooperculi cum armis meis, unum salare argenteum cum cooperculo argenteo ad idem, sex discos argenteos cum sex salsaribus ad eosdem, xii. coclearia argentea, et duas pecias argenti planas. Item, lego eidem Johanne consorti mee ad totam vitam suam usum unius vestimenti sacerdotalis de panno aureo cum filis sericis rubeis et glaucis intermixtis, unius casule de secta dicti panni aurei, unius amite et unius stole de eadem secta, unius calicis deaurati, cum pede de forma molette sex punctorum,⁹ cum patena argentea deaurata, signati in nodo supra pedem cum armis meis, duorum cruettorum argenteorum alborum, unius campane modice argenteæ, unius paxebred argentei deaurati, unius crucis de cupro deaurato cum ymaginibus crucifixi, Marie, et Johannis: ita quod post mortem dictæ Johanne consortis mee omnia ornamenta predicta pro capella integre remaneant Thome filio dictæ Johanne consortis mee et heredibus suis legitimis; et, si contingat dictum Thomam obire sine herede legitimo, tunc omnia ornamenta predicta remaneant Johanni fratri dicti Thome et heredibus suis legitimis; et, si contingat dictum Johannem sine herede

⁵ White, as distinguished from plate gilt or parcel-gilt.

⁶ A horse for baggage, &c., a sompter, according to the use of that term by Lord Berners, Holinshed and other old writers. "*Somarius*, jumentum sarcinale." Ducange. Cotgrave renders "*Somnier*, a sumpter horse."

⁷ The Promptorium Parvulorum gives "Male, of trussynge and caryage, *Man-tica*. Male horse, *Gerulus*, *somarius*."—"Male or wallet to putte geare in, *Malle*." Palsgrave. "Malet (cheval): cheval mallier, qui porte la malle." Roquefort.

⁸ Possibly for *Tragium* or *Terragium*, in

old French, *Terrage*, *aggr terreus*. In the ceremonial of the banquet at the marriage of the Princess Margaret to the Duke of Burgundy, 1468, description is made of extraordinary "subtilites" animals, &c. "marvayllosly standinge in tarage;" and on one occasion the table was "accomplysshid" with "30 tarages—one every tarage a tre of golde"—with fruits, flowers, &c., the tarages being wattled with gold, representing enclosed plots as of a garden or orchard. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 336.

⁹ A star or mullet, in heraldic language, of six points.

legitimo decedere, tunc omnia predicta ornamenta pro capella remaneant Ricardo fratri dictorum Thome et Johannis et heredibus suis legitimis ; et, si idem Ricardus obierit sine herede legitimo, omnia supradicta ornamenta pro capella rectis heredibus meis integre revertant. Et volo quod executores mei emanent de bonis meis unum aliud vestimentum sacerdotale et unum missale competencia, quorum usum volo quod dicta consors mea habeat dum vixerit ; et quod post mortem suam filiis suis remaneant modo quo superius est expressum. Item, lego dicte Johanne consorti mee unum ciphum meum murreum meliorem ornatum argento deaurato, cum pede argenteo deaurato, cum cooperculo murreo ornato argento deaurato cum summitate argentea deaurata sigdata cum scuto de armis meis. Item, lego Henrico Estormy unum discum meum argenteum profundum factum de forma unius disci lignei. Item, lego magistro Arnaldo Brocas clerico unum ciphum argenteum vocatum bolle, majorem de duobus bolles que mecum trussari¹ solebant, cum cooperculo argenteo pro eodem. Item, lego Johanni de Welton unum ciphum argenteum, minorem de dictis duobus bolles, sine cooperculo, et duas pecias argenteas vocatas platpeces ad unum cooperculum faciendum pro eodem ciphio. Item, lego Roberto de Loxle unum ciphum argenteum vocatum bolle, cum cooperculo argenteo ad eundem habente in summitate scutum de armis meis. Item, lego Johanui de Foxle clerico unum ciphum argenteum vocatum bolle sine cooperculo, et duas pecias argenti vocatas platpeces ad unum cooperculum faciendum ad dictum ciphum. Item, lego Johanne consorti mee unum par de paternostres auri, cum uno monili aureo cum duabus manibus junctis, et una cruce aurea modice ornata cum perles, pendente ad dictas paternostres, et unam tabulam argenteam deauratam et amelitam, majorem de duobus tabulis quas habeo, cum diversis ymaginibus sculptis in eadem, ac unum annulum aureum parvum cum una diamant fixa in annulo predicto. Item, lego domino meo, reverendissimo Domino Wyntoniensi Episcopo,² unum annulum aureum cum una saphiro fixa in eodem, et unum boton³ aureum ornatum cum perles bene grossum, cum musk contento in dicto boton⁴. Item, lego domino Nicholao Abbati Monasterii Westmonasteriensis⁵ unum annulum aureum cum una emeraud infixi in eodem annulo. Item, lego domino Abbati de Waltham⁶ unum annulum aureum grossum cum una saphiro infixi, et nominibus trium Regum sculptis in eodem annulo, et unum parvum psalterium quod habui ex dono ejusdem Abbatis. Item, lego Margarete sorori mee unam tabulam argenteam deauratam et amelitam, minorem de duabus quas habeo, cum diversis ymaginibus sculptis in eadem. Item, lego Margerie uxori Johannis de Welton unum monile aureum cum S. litera sculpta et amelita in eodem. Item, lego Roberto Bollok unum equum Bay stantem apud monasterium Ecclesie Christi in Nova Foresta. Item, lego predictae Johanne consorti mee unum vetus psalterium coopertum coreo glauco, medii voluminis, unum psalterium minoris voluminis, coopertum de panno serico diaspre ; unum portiforium antiquum bene magnum, notatum, cum legenda, psalterio, &c., et unum gradale antiquum, cum sequenciis, Kyrie, &c.,

¹ Drinking vessels for use on a journey. The old word to truss, Fr. *Trousser*, signified to pack as baggage, to load a horse, &c.

² William of Wykeham.

³ Amongst the valuable effects of Henry V., of which an inventory was

taken in 1423, a musk-ball of gold occurs weighing 11 oz., and another of silver-gilt.

⁴ Nicholas Litlington was abbot of Westminster, 1362—1386.

⁵ Nicholas Morys, abbot of Waltham, 1371 until c. 1390.

coopertum coreo glauco; quorum usum volo quod dicta consors mea habeat dum superstes fuerit, et cum ab hac luce migraverit, filiis suis predictis remaneant in forma de ornamentis capelle superius ordinata. Item, volo et onero executores meos quod juxta sufficienciam bonorum meorum debita mea persolvant; et quod de bonis meis, que tunc remanere contigerint, respiciant et remunerent omnes et singulos servientes meos, et hoc secundum eorum merita et quantitatem temporis quo mihi servierunt. Residuum vero omnium bonorum meorum do et lego executoribus meis, ut ipsi de eisdem bonis faciant et disponant pro salute anime mee, prout melius viderint expedire. Hujus autem testamenti mei constituo executores meos Johannam consortem meam, Magistrum Arnaldum Brocas clericum,⁶ Johannem de Welton, Robertum de Loxle, et Dominum Johannem de Foxle clericum. In cujus rei testimonium huic testamento meo sigillum meum apposui. Datum apud Bromeshull die quinta mensis Novembris, anno domini Millesimo, ccc^{mo}, lxxviii^o; presentibus Willelmo Chaundeler et Stephano Doget, testibus ad premissa.

Sir John de Foxle, of Foxle in the parish of Bray, Berks, also of Bramshill, Hants, and Apuldfreld, now called Apperfield, in the parish of Cowdham or Cudham, Kent, was the only son of Sir Thomas de Foxle, by Katharine, daughter and coheiress of Sir John de Ifield, of Ifield, Sussex, and of Apuldfreld. A detailed account of the manor of Apuldfreld, and of its successive possessors, has been given in the Topographer and Genealogist, by Mr. G. Steinman Steinman, F.S.A.,⁷ and we have to acknowledge with gratification how much we owe to his obliging communications, and to the pedigree with the notes accompanying it, from which the following particulars relating to the testator and his family have been derived. Sir Thomas de Foxle had represented the county of Berks in more than one Parliament, and he held the office of constable of Windsor Castle from 1330 to 1338. Sir John de Foxle was the first constable of Queenborough Castle, Kent, appointed in 36 Edward III.; he also held the constablership of Southampton Castle, which he retained until his death. He was repeatedly M.P. for the counties of Hants and Berks, during the reign of Edward III. By his first wife, Matilda, daughter of Sir John Brocas of Beaurepaire, Hants, he had William Foxle, who died in his father's lifetime, Katharine, who married John de Warbleton, and Margery, who married Robert Bullock, to whom Sir John bequeaths a bay horse.⁸ By Joan Martin, his second wife, he had John, Thomas, and Richard, all born before marriage, and they are mentioned in his will as sons "consortis mee." He makes certain bequests to his daughters, to Margaret, his only sister, to Thomas Paynel and John Feghelere, probably his nephews, and to Joan Hailleward, probably his niece. The three legatees last named do not appear in Mr. Steinman's pedigree. The Will comprises small bequests to the fabric of various churches, viz. Bray, in Berks, where Sir John directed his remains to be buried near those of his parents and ancestors, Finchampstead and Wokingham, in the same county, Eversley and "Bromeshull," or Bramshill, Hants; also to the church of "Farne-

⁶ Arnold Brocas, who occurs amongst the prebendaries of the church of Lincoln, may have been the person here named executor. He was collated 1393-4, and died 1395. Le Neve's Fasti, ed.

by Mr. Thomas Duffus Hardy.

⁷ Vol. iii. pp. 1, 178.

⁸ Probably Robert Bullock of Arberfield, Berks, sheriff of that county in 8 and 15 Rich. II.

bergh juxta Levesham," which has not been identified, unless it were the parish [of Farnborough, Kent, a few miles distant from Lewisham. He bequeaths to the fabric of the chapel of Apuldfreifeild a rather larger sum, with a mass-vestment and a missal, "unum missale portatile de usu monialium." The advowson of the church of Cowdham, the parish in which the free chapel in question is situated, was appropriated to the Benedictine nunnery of Kilburn, near London, but whether the *moniales* by whom this portable missal was used were of that priory, does not appear.

The Will of Sir John de Foxle contains some bequests deserving of notice, which may claim a few explanatory observations. It appears that he had been honoured by Edward III. with a most costly gift, a great Bugle horn mounted with gold, namely, the horn either of the *Urus*, or of the wild ox or buffalo, the *Bubalus* of the older writers, which was first brought to England in 1252, as a present to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, according to Matthew Paris. Representations of various ancient horns, some of them richly mounted, although not with so precious a metal as that here described, may be seen in the third volume of the *Archæologia*. The bequest of this royal gift to his most dread sovereign, Richard II., suggests the notion that Sir John de Foxle may have received it as the insignia of office, or that it had been in a certain manner associated with some honourable appointment conferred on him by Edward III. It has been suggested that the horn may have been a token of royal favour connected with the distinguished post entrusted to him in 1386, as first constable of Queenborough Castle, completed in that year under the direction of William of Wykeham.⁹ After fourteen years enjoyment of that honourable post, he was succeeded, in 50 Edward III. by no less a personage than John of Gaunt.

Of the two marble slabs with images and inscriptions of metal, which Sir John de Foxle directed to be placed in the chapel of All Saints, in the church of Bray, one of them to the memory of his parents, the other representing himself, between his two wives, the last named memorial alone remains. These "*ymagines*" have been engraved by Messrs. Waller in their admirable Series of Monumental Brasses, and they are described in the Manual for the Study of Monumental Brasses, published at Oxford in 1848, p. 48. The effigies are placed upon a kind of bracket supported by a short shaft, which rests upon a fox couchant, evidently in allusion to the name of the deceased. The knight, whose feet rest on a lion, wears armour of plate and a pointed basinet with a camail, his jupon being charged with his arms, *gules*, two bars *argent*, and on the helm placed under his head appears his crest, a fox's head. At his right appears Matilda, his first wife; her dress displays the same arms impaling her paternal coat of Brocas, *sable*, a lion rampant *or*, whilst Joan Martin, at his left, bears only the arms of Foxle. These details, it will be observed, are closely in conformity with the instructions given in the Will. It is most probable that the second wife, whom he had married after the birth of several children out of wedlock, was not of gentle descent. The "*scriptura*" has long since disappeared, a few words only having remained when Ashmole visited Bray in 1666.¹ The canopies, originally to be seen

⁹ A notice of this fortress was given by Professor Cockerell in his valuable Memoir on William of Wykeham, in

the Proceedings at the Meeting of the Institute at Winchester.

¹ MS. in Coll. Arm. b. xii. 299.

over the effigies, have been destroyed, as likewise the sepulchral brass of Sir John's base son Thomas, who is mentioned in his Will, and those of his two wives; they are described by Ashmole. The figures which remain are interesting, and closely resemble in details of costume some of the well-known brasses of the Cobham family, at Cobham in Kent. The height of the central figure is about 2 feet 6 inches, the height of the bracket about 3 feet. It is remarkable that it is specially directed that the *ymagines* should be "*in armis pictis*." Mr. Waller found remains of colour on the jupon and the dresses of the ladies, indicating the proper heraldic tinctures, as shown in his beautiful plate.

A bequest occurs to Thomas Paynel, the nephew of the testator, comprising his dun horse, with a haubergeon, described as "*de alto clowour*," a term of rare occurrence: a basinet of unusual size (*largiorem*) with the visor and *aventaille*. In the Inventory of armour of Louis X., King of France, taken in 1316, and given in Ducange, under the word *Armatura*, the following items occur.—"33 hautes gorgieres doubles de Chambli.—Uns pans et uns bras de roondes mailles de haute cloëure. Item, uns pans et uns bras d'acier plus fors de mailles rondes de haute cloëure.—Item, une barbiere de haute cloëure de chambli.—Item, une testiere de haute cloëure de maille ronde.—Item, une couverture de mailles rondes demy cloées." The precise import of the term high, as applied to the riveting of mail, has not been ascertained: it doubtless might designate workmanship of high class and of the best quality, but the epithet *altus* may very probably have denoted some peculiarity in the rivets of the mail, which we have sought in vain to define. The various modes of constructing mail have not, indeed, been sufficiently examined. Examples occur in which the rings are welded and riveted throughout the entire fabric; whilst in others the alternate rows only are riveted. Mention occurs of "*chaucés de fer menu mailliés*—Haubert saffre, *menue maillié*,"² as also of the "*hauberc doblatin*—haubert doublier—haubert à maille duple—un hauberk clavez de double maille," &c.

Amongst varieties of mail, a specimen, stated to have been obtained in Gloucestershire, and figured in the Journal of the Archæological Association, vol. i. p. 142, deserves especial notice. In this fragment, composed of rings of unusually large size, the riveting wire in every ring is passed twice through, so that on one side of every ring the wire forms a kind of stitch, and on the other its two extremities are hammered down separately, presenting the appearance of double riveting. In ordinary mail each riveted ring shows a single rivet head only, as in the haubergeon figured in Skelton's Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Armory, vol. i. pl. xiv. Sir Samuel Meyrick was of opinion that *double maille* was composed by the interlacement of rings in pairs, not singly, as in ordinary chain mail; and he has described a remarkable example presented by the effigy of Sir Robert de Mauley, formerly at York, of which the fragments are preserved at Goodrich Court. See the Archæologia, vol. xxxi. p. 238, pl. iii. Another illustration is found in an effigy in Rampton church, Cambridgeshire, figured by Stothard in his Monumental effigies. We hope that future research may enable us to identify with precision the distinctive mode of riveting which constituted the peculiarity described as "*de alto clowour*."

² Tournois de Chauvenci, a poem of the thirteenth century.

To the Abbot of Waltham, Sir John de Foxle bequeaths a gold ring, engraved with the names of the three Kings. Such a ring was doubtless of the class of personal ornaments considered to be endued with some talismanic or sanative efficacy, an *annulus virtuosus*. Rings thus inscribed may have originated in tokens of pilgrimage to the shrine of the Kings of the East in the church of S. Eustorgio at Milan, or more probably to that in Cologne Cathedral. Various small objects, but usually of baser material, which had been placed in contact with the relics of saints, or blessed at their shrines, were commonly distributed to pilgrims. A brooch or a finger-ring was naturally a very favourite form for such preservative tokens, and in almost all ages we meet with rings reputed of sovereign virtue, such as that promised by Organata to Sir Eglamour of Artois :—

“ Whedur that ye be on water or on londe,
Ande that ryng be upon yowre honde,
Ther schalle nothyng yow alon !”

In regard to the names of the three Kings on a “medycynable ring,” we have frequent evidence of a certain belief in their efficacy. Sir Thomas Brown, in his discourse “of the three Kings of Collein,” (Vulgar Errors, b. vii. c. viii.) informs us that their names were considered to be a charm against the falling sickness. This appears, likewise, from the statement of Keyser, that slips of paper inscribed with the following lines were worn as preservatives against the falling sickness :

“ *Gaspar fert Myrrham, Thus Melchior, Balthazar Aurum,
Solvitur a morbo Christi pietate caduco.*”

In an old English Medical MS. at Stockholm other remedies are recommended for that much dreaded disorder of the Middle Ages, and a charm is given against fevers, comprising, with the names of the Seven Sleepers and a series of phrases relating to St. Peter, the mysterious word *AGLA* and the names *JASPAR · MELCHYSAR · BAPTIZAR*. (Archæologia, vol. xxx. p. 400). Several examples of rings bearing these names have been noticed, the most remarkable probably being the gold ring found in Coventry Park, as communicated to the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. T. Sharp ; it was thus inscribed within the hoop—“*Wulnera quinque Dei sunt medicina mei · pia crux et passio xpi sunt medicina michi · Jaspar · Melchior · Baltazar · ananyzapta tetragrammaton.*” (Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 306). In Lord Londesborough’s Collection of Rings there are two, described as “Charact Rings,” bearing the names of the Kings, accompanied on one of them by the words *IN · GOD · IS · A · R*. They are described in the Catalogue, privately printed, No. 2, and No. 214. Mr. Roach Smith describes in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 120, vol. ii. p. 50, some other rings, reliquaries, and other objects bearing representations of the three Kings of the East, or their names. Amongst these may be noticed a strap or garter of *cuir-bouilli*, inscribed “*Melcior · baltasias · iasper,*” figured also in the Catalogue of Mr. Roach Smith’s London Antiquities (p. 130) now preserved in the British Museum. The fine jewelled brooch belonging to the Campbells of Glen-Lyon, figured in Pennant’s *Scotland*, vol. i. p. 103, and in Dr. Wilson’s *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 220, is inscribed in black letter, “*Jaspar Melchior · baltazar · consumatum.*” The last word, being the declaration of the dying Saviour, “It is Finished,” was often used in the

Middle Ages, as were likewise the Angelical Salutation, the *Titulus* I.N.R.I., and other so-called Characts, with a certain credence in their talismanic efficacy.

On a dagger-hilt, a relic of the fifteenth century, found in Norfolk, and exhibited by the Rev. C. R. Manning at one of our meetings, appear on one side three hares, with the legend GASPER, MELTESA, BALTESA, and on the other, two dogs fighting for a bone, with the phrase often found on a token of regard or goodwill, PRENS EN GRE. The virtue of these marvel-working names, it may be observed, was not limited to their preservative or sanative power, since we find in Henslow's Diary, in the times of Elizabeth, now preserved in the Library of Dulwich College, that a tablet of virgin wax, inscribed + JASPER + MELCHISOR + BALTHASAR, had been accounted an infallible charm for the discovery of stolen goods. The three names appear on the celebrated Oldenburg Horn of silver enameled now preserved at Copenhagen, and on a fine drinking horn in the Arendal Museum, in Norway; as also on another Norwegian Horn, supposed to have been originally obtained from a weird female, the *Troll*, who emerged from her subterranean abode to present it to some passer by.³

In the Proceedings of the Gentleman's Society, at Spalding, is recorded a present of an amulet that had touched the heads of the three Kings of Cologne, whose names were in black letter within.⁴ A remarkable instance of such a charm used in England in comparatively recent times is cited in the Additions to Brand's Popular Antiquities, in the Notes to Characts. A talisman was found in the possession of a murderer named Jackson, who died in Chichester Gaol in 1749. It contained the names of the Kings, with the statement that the paper had touched their holy heads at Cologne, and would preserve travellers from accidents, headache, falling sickness, fever, witchcraft, all kinds of mischief, and sudden death. A facsimile of one of these printed charms, now in Mr. Fairholt's possession, has been figured in Mr. C. Roach Smith's Collectanea. It bears a rude woodcut of the Adoration of the Magi, with a view of the city of Cologne beneath.⁵

An ornament bequeathed by Sir John de Foxle to Margery, wife of John de Welton, has sometimes been regarded as an object possibly connected in some manner with the enigmatical device of the house of Lancaster, which not long subsequent to the date of this Will was so frequently displayed in that *crux antiquariorum*, the collar of SS. The bequest had been cited by Warton, amongst examples of the art of enameling in England.⁶ "Item, lego Margerie uxori Johannis de Welton unum monile aureum cum S litera sculpta et amelita in eodem." The name of John de Weelton occurs as one of the feoffees in certain deeds of which an abstract is given by Mr. Steinman, relating to the settlement of the manor of Apul-dreffield by Sir John de Foxle in 1378 upon Joan, his widow, for life.⁷ I will not here renew the investigation of the difficult questions connected with the origin of the "coler del livre de Mons^r de Lancastre," since it is obvious that such a collar is not here intended. *Monile*, although sometimes signifying a necklace, as also the poitrel of horse-harness, usually

³ Thorpe's Mythology of Scandinavia, vol. ii. p. 15; iii. p. 130.

⁴ Archæologia, vol. xviii. p. 307.

⁵ See Gent. Mag. vol. xix. p. 88. Collectanea Antiqua, vol. i. p. 122.

⁶ History of Poetry in England, vol. i. p. 377, sect. xiii. 4to edition.

⁷ Topographer and Genealogist, vol. iii. p. 13.

designates a jewel to be hung on the neck, a brooch, an ouch or tablet. The item, occurring in the context, regarding "unum par de paternostres auri cum uno monili auri cum duabus manibus junctis, et una cruce aurea modice ornata cum perles pendente ad dictas paternostres," may serve to show that *monile* in this document is used in its signification of a brooch, or a pendant ornament. In the Catalogue of benefactors to St. Alban's Abbey, it is recorded that Matthew Paris gave to the shrine "Monile aureum continens partem ligni dominici, quod deosculatur die Parasceves, et dependet a cruce aurea per catenam argenteam in parte dextra." Richard II. "optulit feretro monile aureum," represented in the MS. as held in the King's hand; and several other *monilia* are mentioned and figured in the margin of this curious Register.⁸ They appear to be tablets, jewels, roundels enclosing relics, &c. It is probable that the ornament bequeathed by Sir John de Foxle, was some personal device wholly unconnected with the Lancaster livery.

Ornaments charged with letters, initials of personal names, or the like, were much in favour in mediæval times. Two pendant objects of mixed metal badges or ornaments of horse-trappings, were shown to me a few years since by Sir Charles G. Young, Garter, each displaying a large initial S., which had been "sculpta et amelita." One was six-foiled, diameter 2 inches, the letter being in a circular compartment in the centre; the other rather larger, a disk with the following inscription in Spanish, *En Dios es el poderi*, in God is the power or might. These badges were formed with a small loop at top for suspension, and had doubtless been enameled, being of the same class of ornaments as the small heraldic escutcheons and other metal pendants, exhibited repeatedly at meetings of the Institute. Instances might be cited of other objects decorated with the letter S., probably without any reference to the collar of livery. Thus, in 1386, Sir John Mautravers bequeathed to the church of Pourstoke, "j. par vestimentorum cum S literis deauratis," and in 1402, Sir John Depeden bequeathed to his chantries in the church of Helagh, Yorkshire, a complete vestment of silk, "habens S literam nigram enbroudez super les orfrays." In 1392 a legacy occurs of a girdle thus decorated—"j. singulum de serico ornatum cum litteris argenteis, videlicet S."⁹

The numerous articles of plate, and the various terms by which they are described, may deserve to be noticed. We hope that Mr. Octavius Morgan, to whose researches regarding ancient plate we have been so much indebted, may at some future time enable us to distinguish with precision the "ciphum cum cooperculo,—ciphum ad modum calicis,—ciphum ad modum byker," and another variety, "vocatum bolle;" the "ciphum murreum," or mazer, with a cover likewise of mazer,¹ the "pecias vocatas platpeces," &c. One of the covered cups in fashion of a "byker," probably an upright drinking vessel on a low base, and somewhat wider at the mouth than at the foot, is described as having on the gilt cover "cervum album in summitate jacentem super unum tragum." This appears to have been the white hart lodged, the favourite device of Richard II., here described as lying "super unum

⁸ Cott. MS. Nero, D. VII. In the *Ortus Vocabulorum* we find "Monile, ornamentum est quod solet ex feminarum pendere collo: quod alio nomine dicitur firmaculum vel firmatorium, Anglice, a broche."

⁹ Testam. Eborac. pp. 175, 295, Surtees Society's Publications.

¹ See notices of mazers and a representation of a covered mazer in this *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 262.

tragum," which, as observed in the note on that item in the Will, may be for *tragium*, or *terragium*, the little mound or enclosed place on which the hart rested. The term *terage* is of frequent occurrence in descriptions of mediæval plate; thus in the Kalendars of the Excheque is described "Un saler d'argent ennoze en manere d'un faucon coronez, et entour le cole l'rs de S steant sur un terage plein de lyons, cerfs, et autres diverses bestes," and another item mentions, "un blanc faucon sur un vert terage."² It has been, however, suggested that the term *tragum*, which has not previously fallen under our notice, may be another form of *traga* or *traha*, a cart, or in modern parlance, a drag, on which the slain deer was brought in from the hunting-field. This explanation, it must be observed, received some confirmation from the occurrence of the hart, amongst numerous varieties of the badge of Richard II. on the string-course and corbels in Westminster Hall, represented in one instance placed in a four-wheeled cart, as if about to be conveyed to the field.³

ALBERT WAY.

² Kalendars of the Exch. vol. iii. pp. 322, 329. In the *Excerpta Historica*, p. 149, mention occurs of a Saler "upon a grene carage (? tarage) enameilled with

egles and ij. antilopes" holding the stem of the saler, or salt-cellar.

³ See Mr. Willement's memoir in *Coll. Topogr.* vol. iii. p. 55.

Whilst these pages were in the printers' hands, I have received from the learned writer on Liturgical Antiquities, the Very Rev. Dr. Rock, the following observations in explanation of the bequest of a "*missale portatile de usu monialium*," which has been already noticed. In many nunneries, as Dr. Rock remarks, the mass for the nuns, that is, the early mass at about six o'clock in the morning, was of the Blessed Virgin, and the second mass, that is, of the occurring festival, was rather for the people than the community. As the mass for the Virgin is almost the same throughout the year, it would occupy a volume of small size, and might truly be called portable as distinguished from a full missal, which in many cases forms a volume of ponderous bulk. Amongst the Sarum Missals of octavo size, enumerated in Mr. Dickinson's *List of Service Books*,⁴ there is one now belonging to Dr. Rock, which once was in the possession of a nun of Syon. At the end is written, "*Thys ys my boke. Elizabethhe Fetyplace.*" The same person and her sister Helena, who was a nun at Amesbury, gave a large missal to the church of Buckland, Berks: this book is likewise in Dr. Rock's possession. It thus appears that besides their Latin breviaries, out of which they sung their office in choir, nuns had not uncommonly Latin Missals, with which they could follow the mass as said by the priest at the altar; and Dr. Rock concludes that the service-book in question was designated "*portatile*," either because it contained only the "*Missa de B. V. Maria*," or because it was one of the small missals written for the nuns' use, and in which they read whilst the priest was celebrating.

⁴ Printed in the *Ecclesiologist*, 1850.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

May 7, 1858.

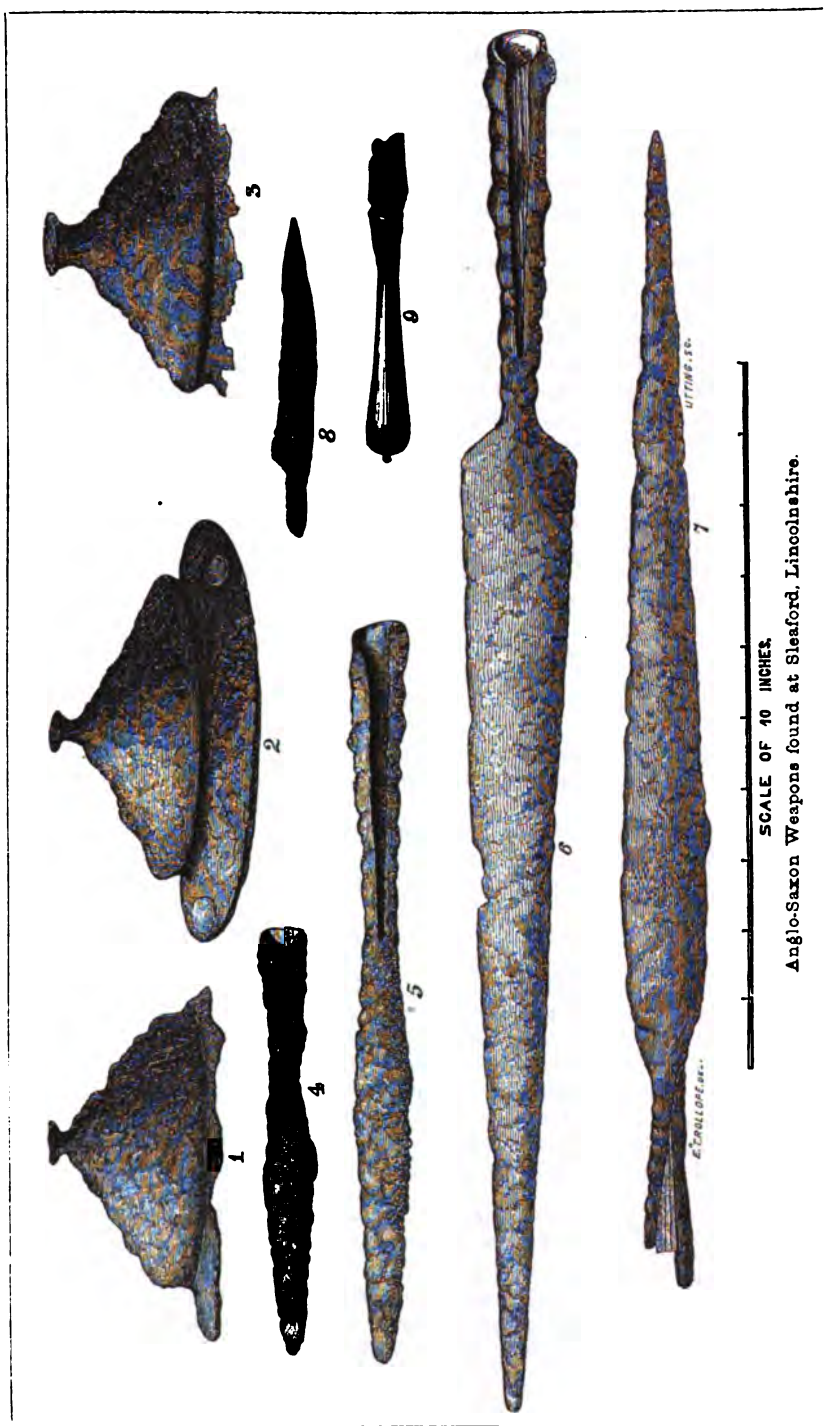
OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq., M.P., V.P.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Sir E. W. HEAD, Bart., Governor in Chief of Canada, communicated through Lord Talbot de Malahide an account of the Crosier of St. Fillan, accompanied by photographs of that remarkable relic, which was transported from Scotland to Canada some years ago, as stated in Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. It will be fully noticed hereafter.

Mr. JOSEPH BURTT communicated a memoir regarding the embassy to bring the Maid of Norway to Scotland in 1290, and he produced a transcript of an original document found amongst the Miscellaneous Records at the Chapter House, Westminster, and relating to that transaction. (Printed in this volume, page 137, *ante*).

The Rev. EDWARD TROLLOPE sent the following particulars regarding a recent discovery of Anglo-Saxon weapons near Sleaford, Lincolnshire:—

"In excavating the ground for the purpose of extending the Grantham and Sleaford railway to Boston during the present year, an interesting discovery of Anglo-Saxon remains was made. In an old pasture close immediately to the east of the southern entrance into the town of Sleaford, and at about 18 inches below the surface the skeletons of four or five Teuton warriors were brought to light, accompanied by their arms, a selection from which are here represented. No sword was found with any of these interments, but each body was accompanied by a shield, knife, and spear-head; the last materially differed as to size and form in every instance, but all were in an unusually good state of preservation, the remains of the wooden shaft of each spear being more or less distinctly visible. Three iron shield-bosses are figured in the accompanying woodcuts, slightly varying in their forms (figs. 1, 2, and 3). By comparing the spear heads, figs. 4, 5, 6, and 7, it will be seen how dissimilar were these weapons, even when borne by soldiers of the same tribe and engaged probably on service in the same expedition, as there seems to be every reason to suppose that the interment of these human remains and their accompaniments took place on one and the same occasion, after some skirmish in the vicinity of Sleaford, since they were found in a group together, and not in a cemetery, such as exists in the adjoining parish of Quarrington and elsewhere. Fig. 6 is a remarkably fine spear head, 20 inches long, and in excellent preservation, the grain of its wooden shaft being well shown, and protruding from the socket. It will be observed that all the spear-heads have the cleft socket, so characteristic of the period. Fig. 8 is an example of the knives found with these remains, and they are nearly alike in every instance, but fig. 9, although broken and



SCALE OF 10 INCHES.
Anglo-Saxon Weapons found at Sleaford, Lincolnshire.

much corroded, presents a feature to our observation which I believe to be a novelty, namely, a handle, as I am not aware of any other example having been noticed. It is formed of the bone of some small animal, through which a slender iron tang or prolongation of the blade runs, to the end of which a rivet has been applied so as to keep the handle in its place. One stray amber bead was found with these weapons, also a small brass coin of Valentinianus, reverse Victory marching, and the legend *SECURITAS REIPUBLICÆ*."

These relics form a characteristic group of the usual weapons of the period, the sword only excepted, and they are of interest, for the purpose of comparison with the Anglo-Saxon remains in the Faussett Collection, those disinterred in Cambridgeshire by Lord Braybrooke, in Gloucestershire by Mr. Wylie, and in other recently explored localities. The iron spear is of unusually large dimensions; the longest example found at Little Willbraham by Lord Braybrooke, and figured in his *Saxon Obsequies*, pl. 35, measures only 18 inches in length, whilst one figured in Mr. Wylie's *Fairford Graves*, plate x., measures 17 inches. A spear, however, discovered in a tumulus at Great Driffeld, Yorkshire, excavated by Dr. Thurnam, is of longer dimensions, measuring nearly 21 inches in length. It is figured in Mr. Akerman's *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, pl. ix. The best series of weapons of this description is preserved in the Faussett Collection, and figured in Mr. C. Roach Smith's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xiv.

MR. AUGUSTUS FRANKS read a short memoir on a bronze *Umbo* found in Northumberland, and recently communicated to the Institute by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle. (Printed in this volume, p. 55, *ante*.)

The Very Rev. Dr. ROCK read some Observations on a Thurible in his possession, a fine example of metal-work of the thirteenth century. (Printed in this volume, p. 119, *ante*.)

The Rev. C. W. BINGHAM communicated the following particulars relating to a miniature, attributed to the distinguished painter, Sir James Thornhill, and two of his MS. memorandum books, which were brought for examination.

Mr. Bingham drew attention to the fact that one at least of the latter had been mentioned by the late Mr. John Britton in the 1st vol. of *Notes and Queries*, first series, p. 123, where, after describing its contents, he says, "I have often regretted that I did not copy the whole volume, as it contained many curious facts and anecdotes. I have tried in vain to ascertain the name and address of the possessor. He was a country gentleman, and lodged in Southampton Row, Russell Square."

Who this gentleman might be, Mr. Bingham was not aware, but the books in question had lately come into his own possession, having been found among the papers of a lady named Campbell, not long since deceased.

The first and larger book commences May, 1711, and describes a tour, which was made by "Mr. Thornhill, Mr. Serj. Roberts, Mr. Ed. Strong, Jun., and Mr. Tho. Strong," who set out on the 21st of that month, "from the Cross Keys in Gracious Street at 3 a clock in y^e morning for Ipswich in Company with Mrs. Ann Mannock, Daughter of Sir William Mannock of Gifford Hall in Suffolk, near Stratford, and arrived at Ipswich about 10 a clock y^e same evening."

Then follows a short description of Ipswich, with sketches of its position on the river, of the Sessions House, the Market Cross, Custom-House, &c.

From thence the party proceeded to Harwich, visiting Landguard Fort, and other places in the neighbourhood, of which several sketches and notices are given; and on the 7th of June crossed to Helvoetsluys; and by Brill, Delph, the Hague, Rotterdam, Ghent, and Tournay, travelled to Brussels, where the written memoranda cease, but there is an elaborate pen-and-ink drawing of "the Lower end of the Great Market-place," and also several more trifling sketches.

The smaller book, dated 1714 Feb., which is much less consecutive and orderly, refers to a visit made to Paris, and contains pen or pencil drawings of St. George's Gate at Canterbury, Dover Castle, &c., besides some very rough jottings of furniture, pictures, and architectural details.

Occasional receipts and memoranda are scattered throughout the volumes, characteristic alike of the age and of the writer, and affording altogether, as Mr. Bingham observed, "a more authentic source than has been elsewhere opened, for ascertaining the personal idiosyncrasy of one of our most distinguished native Painters."

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By the Rev. G. M. NELSON.—A bronze figure, one of the curious class of mediæval objects supposed to have been used as ewers, and in the comparatively rare form of an unicorn. Mr. Nelson has given the following particulars regarding this relic, purchased by him in the autumn of last year from Silvani, the well-known dealer in productions of foreign art, at Brighton. "Silvani is a native of Chiavenna, situated about three miles from the buried village of Pleurs or *Piuro*, which was overwhelmed on the night of Sept. 4, 1618, by the fall of Monte Conto. It was a thriving place, surrounded by the villas of the citizens of Chiavenna; of its 2430 inhabitants not a soul escaped, and the ruins lie beneath a mass of débris, 60 feet deep, in the valley of the river Maira. Nothing had been rescued, with the exception of two lamps, and a bell, brought to light by the action of the stream, and now used at Chiavenna. On inquiring of Silvani whether any interesting remains were ever found in excavating at Pleurs, he replied that he had in his possession a bronze figure, exhumed the year before whilst he was visiting his native city. It appeared that vineyards had been planted on the grave of the ill-fated village, and occasionally some articles of plate, with other relics of interest, had been disinterred. Amongst these, according to Silvani's assurance, was the bronze unicorn, which he purchased on the spot. The figure stands 10½ inches in height; it measures 8½ inches from the chest to the tail, and the weight is 4lbs. In Wilson's Prehistoric Annals, page 556, I find an account of vessels of this description, with a representation of one found at Hoddam Castle, Dumfriesshire, in form of a lion, with a stag's head, like a parasite, protruding from its chest. I imagine that my unicorn may have had some similar excrescence, since there appears a patch on the chest, precisely in the position of the stag's head. Within the nose of the unicorn may be seen a spiral iron spring, for what purpose I know not, and no such appendage is alluded to in Wilson's account. He states that Klüwer, in his Norwegian Antiquities, has portrayed another figure in form of an

unicorn, long preserved at Moldè, near Drontheim. It had an aperture in the neck, to which obviously a lid had been attached. From the handle along the back, which represents a serpent, and the circumstance of the horn in the forehead being hollow, Klüwer observes that it may reasonably be conjectured to have been used as a liquor decanter."

The figure in Mr. Nelson's possession is fashioned with considerable skill and spirit in its design. There is an aperture between the ears closed by a small lid, attached to the neck by a hinge, and through this opening, doubtless, the cavity was filled with liquid, which was poured out through the horn protruding from the forehead. It has been suggested that the spiral spring had very probably been connected with the lid above described, and served to prevent its being suddenly thrown open, so as to allow the liquid contents to escape when the head of the animal was turned downwards in pouring. The tail and one of the hind feet have been broken off. There is a curved handle on the back of the figure, one end being attached to its mane, the other to the rump. There are a few slight lines cut with the graver on the chest and in the joints; the figure appears to have been cast in one piece and worked up with the tool. A small oblong plate has been inserted on the breast, as before mentioned, measuring rather more than an inch, by three quarters of an inch in breadth. The intention of the aperture thus closed seems questionable, and it appears probable that had such an opening been requisite for clearing out the core, after the process of casting, as had been conjectured, it would have been formed in some part more concealed from notice.

In the *Archæologia Æliana*, vol. iv. p. 76, a bronze ewer is figured, which was found near Hexham, Northumberland. In the accompanying Memoir by Dr. Charlton, it is described as representing a mounted knight, armed wholly in mail, with the exception of a flat-topped helm, the crown of which is now open, but it had evidently been closed by a little lid, attached by a hinge to the back of the helm. By this aperture doubtless the vessel was filled, and there is a short spout projecting from the horse's forehead, through which the contents of the ewer were poured out. In the chest of the horse there is inserted a square plate, through which Dr. Charlton supposes that the core of the mould had been removed after the figure was cast. The costume presents the characteristics of the thirteenth century. This curious example is likewise figured in Mr. Scott's *Antiquarian Gleanings*, pl. xxii., and in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, 1857, p. 130, where a Memoir is given by Mr. Syer Cuming on *Mediæval Vessels in the form of Equestrian Knights*. The ewer may now be seen in the British Museum. Another example of the knightly type was exhibited by Dr. James Kendrick, of Warrington, in the Museum of the Institute at the Chester Meeting. It has been figured, as also a third copied from the Mirror, ix. 288, in the *Journal of the Archæological Association*, *ut supra*.

A remarkable figure of the mounted knight exists in the Copenhagen Museum, as shown in *Afbildninger*, fig. 406. Dr. Charlton mentions also an ewer of this fashion, stated to have been found in Helgeland, and figured by Klüwer, in his *Norske Mindesmaerker*, Christiania, 1823, pl. xi., where may also be seen two other Scandinavian examples, one of them being a kind of griffin bearing an armed man in its beak, the other is the unicorn, before mentioned. Several ewers in the form of lions exist in the

Copenhagen Museum and elsewhere, and they have been described as "Vand Karren," or vessels for pouring water over the hands of the priest during mass. No. 1412 in the Catalogue, given in *Antiquariske Annaler*, vol. iv., is described as a lion, the best specimen amongst a number of such vessels in the Museum. The tail is recurved over the back, forming a handle, and terminating in a winged dragon which bites the lion's neck; in the breast of the lion there is a square plate inserted, as in other examples, possibly closing an aperture through which the core had been extracted. Another remarkable lion-ewer is figured by Worsaae in the *Afbildninger*, fig. 405. A third, formerly used in a church in Iceland, and bearing an inscription in Runes, the record of its donation for God's service, is described in the Catalogue, No. 1421. There is also one in fashion of a horse, No. 1703, with a large handle in form of a snake which bites the horse's neck. In Wagener's *Handbuch*, four ewers of this description may be seen: a lion, at Brunswick, No. 172; a lion, with a figure as a handle, at Königin Gratz, No. 683; a horse, at Prague, No. 980; and a lioness or leopard, at Schlerbitz, No. 1056.

The only mention of bronze ewers in form of animals hitherto noticed in Inventories occurs in the documents relating to Fynchale Priory, Durham, published by the Surtees Society. In the "Status Domus de Fynkall," in 1397, p. cxvii., there occur in the *Aula*, "ij. pelves magnæ cum j. lavacro et j. equo eneo; ij. counterfetys cum ij. lavacris ejusdem sectæ." Again, in 1411, p. clvi., in the *Aula*, "ij. pelves cum ij. lavacris counterfet sed veteres. Item, j. lavacrum eneum et aliud in forma equi." These items supply a proof of the use of such figures as ewers, called in mediæval Latin *lavacra* or *lavatoria*, in French *lavoirs*, *lavoers*, or *pots lavoirs*. By the kindness of Mr. Nelson, the accompanying woodcut of the figure in his possession has been presented to the Institute.

By Mr. CARRINGTON.—Five coins given to him by Mr. Romaine, the Secretary to the Admiralty, and which that gentleman had collected when visiting Mr. Layard at Nineveh. He observed that they were not very remarkable in themselves, but curious as showing how objects quite unconnected might be found at or near the same place.

1. The first had become reduced to a shapeless lump of copper, weighing about an ounce, which had evidently been subjected to the action of fire.

2. An Egyptian coin with a head on the obverse, and an eagle on the reverse, with the inscription ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. This coin was about the size of a copper penny, but somewhat thicker.

3. A second brass coin of Domitian.

4. A second brass coin of the elder Faustina.

5. A coin or medal of copper, rather smaller than a copper penny, but much thicker, having on the obverse in very high relief the head of an old man bearded, and wearing a cap, on which was a short pair of sheep's horns, and a robe, on the collar of which were three Hebrew characters. On the reverse was a Hebrew inscription, illegible, of which the name of the Supreme Being only (Elohim) could be deciphered.

Mr. W. J. BERNHARD SMITH stated that such medals are modern and very common, and that they were frequently sold at Jerusalem to travellers.

By Mr. AUGUSTUS FRANKS.—A piece of embroidery in gold, silver, and silk, apparently English work, date about 1300. It represents two subjects under canopies, the first representing Our Lord teaching his disciples; the other is the Betrayal. The background is diapered with eagles displayed

and wyverns. Between the canopies are introduced angels with wings of feathers resembling those of peacocks.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—Eight choice specimens of Oriental and Venetian metal work.

By Mr. ROBERT READY.—A facsimile in gutta percha of a fine fragment of an episcopal seal of the thirteenth century, taken from a detached impression, of which, unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain the date with precision. It is of pointed-oval form, and represents a bishop in full pontificals, the right hand grasping a crosier, the left upraised in the gesture of benediction. The draperies are in high relief and of remarkably fine work and design. Of the legend the following portions only remain (s)IGILL' FRI's : ANIANI : D'I..... TO : ASS. It may possibly have read thus : *Dei gratia Episcopi ecclesie de Sancto Asapho*. There were two bishops of St. Asaph in the thirteenth century named Anian. Anian I. succeeded in 1249, and died in 1266. Anian II., surnamed de Schonau, was consecrated bishop of St. Asaph at St. Mary's, Southwark, in 1268, and died in 1293.¹ The designation *Fratris* appears to indicate that this fine seal may with much probability be assigned to the second Anian, who had been prior of the Dominican Friars of Rhudland, near St. Asaph.

June 4, 1858.

The LORD BRAYBROOKE, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Count VIMERCATI SOZZI, of Bergamo, communicated notices of the discovery of Roman tombs, about 1841, near Lovere, on the Lake of Isea in Lombardy, and of sepulchral vessels found in them, now preserved in the Count's museum at Bergamo, of which the following account was transmitted from Milan by Mr. Albert Way.

"The rich plains of Lombardy and the localities adjacent to the Italian Lakes are replete with vestiges of the Roman period, and would supply materials for instructive public collections in the various principal cities. With the exception, however, of Brescia, where an extensive museum of Roman inscriptions and local antiquities exists, the value of public collections of the ancient remains of the Roman age, and of still earlier times, does not appear to have been sufficiently recognised, whilst numerous objects of considerable interest exist in private collections, well deserving to be published and brought into comparison with those of analogous character occurring in other parts of Europe. The imperfect record of frequent discoveries made from time to time may well suffice to cause regret that no more ample memorial of the details connected therewith should have been preserved for the benefit of the Archæologist. The collections of antiquities of all periods, combined with works of art, examples of mediæval skill of every description, inscriptions, manuscripts, and everything which may contribute to illustrate local history and antiquities, formed at Bergamo by the Count Vimercati Sozzi, include antiquities of the earlier periods of considerable interest. Many of them have been brought to light in the course of excavations upon Roman sites, under the personal direction of that indefatigable antiquary. Amongst these may be noticed fictile vessels and objects of personal use, resembling in fashion those which occur on Roman sites in England, examples of Samian

¹ Le Neve's Fasti, ed. Hardy, vol. i. p. 67.

ware, similar in form to those with which the English antiquary is familiar. With these are found many objects of more elaborate character, evincing that higher degree of skill in the arts which might be expected in countries nearer to Rome and in more constant communication with the centre of the Empire than the comparatively distant colonies. Recent researches at Volpi, to the south of Bergamo, produced relics of curious character, accompanied by coins of Vespasian and objects analogous to those found in England. A metallic speculum may be noticed, precisely similar to that exhibited by Mr. Fitch at one of the meetings of the Institute, but this Italian specimen has its bronze handle perfectly preserved; that portion of the Roman mirror is of rare occurrence in England. Count Sozzi has transmitted for presentation to the Institute a volume, comprising memoirs read by him before the learned Societies in Lombardy with which he is associated, and relating chiefly to the history of Bergamo, the antiquities which he has collected, to local numismatic researches, and various subjects which he hoped might prove of interest to the Institute. He has requested me at the same time to communicate some particulars regarding Roman sepulchral cists found at Lovere, near the picturesque Lake of Isea, with representations of the objects found in those depositories, and now preserved in his museum. These, as it will be seen by the accompanying sketches, are mostly of forms which occur amongst Roman antiquities in our own country: the square glass urn or bottle, with its broad handle, and narrow neck, may have been produced from the same furnaces which supplied the glass vessels found in Kent, in Lincolnshire, and other parts of England.² The fine example disinterred at Lovere, as will be seen by the drawings, has on the under side of its base a chaplet of foliage tied together by a riband: this ornament, possibly a distinctive mark of the maker, is in relief, and was obviously formed by the mould in which these vessels of glass were fashioned. Such marks occur on specimens found in France, and might probably supply evidence in regard to the place where the principal manufacture of these productions in glass existed. On the base of an hexagonal bottle brought to light at the extensive Roman city of *Cemenelacum*, or Cimiez, near Nice, there occurs one of these marks or devices in relief, representing a stork, with the letters Q. T. F., doubtless the initials of the maker. The fictile vessels found in Lombardy present some specimens varied in form from those found in Romano-British tombs: the sepulchral cists at Lovere contained also several lamps of fictile ware, upon which may be noticed the potters' names *FESTI*, *COMUNI*, and *FORTIS*. The last occurs on a lamp in Mr. Roach Smith's Collection of Antiquities found in London, now deposited in the British Museum;³ and *COMUNIS* has occurred on fictile lamps found in London.⁴ The stamp of *Festus* has frequently been found on Samian ware in England, where the funereal lamp is comparatively uncommon. On one of the vessels of fine ware, a saucer of ordinary form, but more elegant in contour than those discovered in England, may be noticed the Potter's mark Q. N. F. inscribed

² Compare the glass vases found in the Bartlow Hills, *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. and a specimen of large dimensions found in Sussex, *Akerman's Archæological Index*, pl. ix.

³ Catalogue of Mr. Roach Smith's Museum, p. 22.

⁴ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 166, where a valuable memoir by Mr. Roach Smith on Potters' Marks and Vestiges of Roman Fictile Manufactures will be found, as also in the *Journal of the Arch. Assoc.* vol. iv.

upon a device resembling the human foot. Mr. Roach Smith and other antiquaries who have described the production of Samian potters have noticed the foot-shaped marks,* a type supposed to characterise the productions of Arezzo: they occur in France, but I am not aware whether the mark found in Lombardy is identical with any known in England. On one of the lamps may be observed the head of Jupiter Ammon, as described by Count Sozzi, and on another a star-shaped ornament of six rays. The most singular relic perhaps which occurred in these interments was a lamp formed apparently of a kind of *lapis ollaris* or steatite, of blackish colour; the inner surface presents the appearance of having been coated with a paste of reddish colour, resembling baked clay, although it is difficult to explain why such a coating should have been applied, unless it were to obviate the absorbent quality of the stone. A material of this nature occurs in these parts of Italy, being commonly called *da laveggio*, or pot-stone; and a writer on the Natural History of Lombardy, speaking of fossile productions, states that in the neighbourhood of Como a kind of stone is dug up which is easily turned in the lathe, and of which vessels were formed for culinary and domestic uses. He adds, that when heated with oily matters it becomes black and acquires increased hardness, but in its original state it is soft. I am not aware that any example of the use of steatite in Roman times has occurred, and the lamp preserved in Count Sozzi's museum is a specimen of interest to those who study the details of Roman times and Roman manufacture, more especially if the supposition be well founded that the skill of the potter was called into exercise to encrust the stone with an argillaceous coating, by which its use in forming lamps might be materially improved. Several relics of bronze were found in the tombs at Lovere, the most remarkable being a tube with stout rings encircling it at intervals: it was supposed to have been part of the casing of some official or sacrificial staff. There were also various masses resembling *scoriæ*, in which remains of metallic objects were embedded: these may have been thrown into the funeral fire, and collected to be deposited in the tomb. In regard to the sepulchral cists, they were found at a very small depth below the surface, as has occurred in discoveries in England: they were formed of tiles or bricks of large dimension "*a grandi piastroni di terra cotta*" a mode of construction of which examples have occurred in England at York and other places, where stone was not readily to be obtained. In Lombardy, although stone and marbles of every kind abound, it is probable that materials for construction formed of terra cotta were manufactured in remarkable perfection, and the art was handed down to mediæval times. Specimens of Roman wall-tiles and other fictile objects used in building occur in Lombardy of very unusual dimensions.

Count Sozzi is disposed to assign the date of the tombs at Lovere to the age of Constantine: he has made researches in the adjacent Val Camonica, of which we may hope that he will hereafter give a report to the Institute, and especially of certain objects bearing Etruscan characters inscribed upon them, and now to be seen among his collections at Bergamo. In that museum, deposited in a house formerly the residence of Tasso, he has brought together an assemblage of materials of no ordinary interest,

* See Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 164: and the *Journal*

of the Archaeol. Assoc. vol. iv. p. 16.

in connection with local antiquities and the History of the Arts in Lombardy."

Mr. WESTON S. WALFORD communicated a memoir on an effigy of a knight in Winchester Cathedral. (Printed in this volume, p. 125, *ante*.)

A notice was read of Examples of the Collar of SS., occurring in the churches of S. Eustorgio and S. Ambrogio, at Milan, by Mr. Albert Way.

Mr. CARRINGTON gave the following account of a MS. book of Precedents in Special Pleading, which he brought for examination. This MS. is written on vellum, and consists of forty-seven leaves of duodecimo size. All the initials are illuminated; the Precedents are in the Norman language, and, including the short variations, as in modern collections, the forms are ninety-eight in number. The counts were all in form somewhat like a bill in Chancery. It is mentioned by Mr. Reeves, in his History of the English Law, vol. iii. p. 59, that while the pleadings remained in the Norman language, the counts were always in this form.

The following, here printed in *extenso*, may be given as an example of the forms occurring in Mr. Carrington's MS. :—

De Ingressu.

Ceo vous monstre labbe de N. &c., qe le Priour de O. &c., atort lui deforce vn mies, &c. Et purceo atort qe ceo son droit et le droit de sa eglise auantdist en temps, &c., les esple, &c., mountre, &c., come de fee et de droit, come del droit de sa eglise auantdist, et en les yeux m' cesti Priour nad entre, si noun par lauandist J. iadis Abbe de N. predecessour meisme cesti Abbe, qe ceux lui lessa saunz lassent et la volute de son Chapitre, &c. Et si, &c.

This form may be translated as follows :—

This sheweth you the Abbot of N. &c., that the Prior of O, &c. wrongfully deforced him of one messuage, &c., and for this wrongfully, that this his right and the right of his church aforesaid in time, &c., the esplees, &c., sheweth, &c., as well of fee and of right, as of the right of his church aforesaid, and in the which same this Prior had not entry except by the aforesaid J., late Abbot of N., predecessor of this same Abbot, who leased them to him without the assent and the will of his Chapter, &c. And so, &c.

There are the following forms, Quare incumbavit, De dote unde nichil habet, De Forma donationis, Cessavit, De Ingressu, De Avo et Proavo, De Custodia, Ravisement de garde, and De medio. There may have been a few more, but not many, as is evident from the binding of the book.

The date of the manuscript appears to be early in the reign of Edward III. The handwriting seems to be of that period; Henry III. is mentioned as "H. besael n're seignour le Roi, qore est"—Henry great-grandfather of our lord the King that now is.

Ralph de Hengham, created Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1301, and his successor William Bereford, who succeeded him in 1309, are mentioned in the MS., and there are counts in it founded on the Statute Westm. 2, 13 Edw. I., c. 41, passed in the year 1285, by which it is enacted, that if any one endowed a chantry, and the religious service was discontinued for two years, the heir might resume the property. The manuscript cannot be earlier than the earliest of these dates, nor later than 1362, as from that time all legal proceedings were required to be in Latin, by the Stat. 36



Sepulchral Urn, found in 1602 on the estates of George W. Hope Esq .
at Luffness, Haddingtonshire.

Height of the Original, 54 inches. Diameter at the mouth, 64 inches.

Edw. III., c. 15, although, singularly enough, that Statute itself is in the Norman language.

The Very Rev. Dr. ROOK stated the following particulars in relation to the remarkable *baculus* or crosier, in possession of Cardinal Wiseman, which by his kind permission was brought for exhibition. It is inscribed as follows:—OR DO CONDUILLIG OCUS DO MEL FINNIA. A prayer for the maker (of this staff) and for Maelfinnia. Maelfinnia, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, lived until the close of the tenth century. Dr. Petrie has given, in his *Inquiry into the Origin and Uses of the Round Towers of Ireland*, a representation of a tombstone at Clonmacnoise, inscribed OROIT DO MAELFINNIA, and ornamented with a cross presenting interlaced patterns, and the triangular figure known as the *Triquetra* at the foot. This memorial Dr. Petrie attributes to Maelfinnia, who was probably the Abbot of that name, the son of Spellan, and grandson of Maenach of Clonmacnoise, whose death is recorded in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, at the year 992, and in the annals of Ulster and of the Four Masters at the year 991.⁶

Antiquities and Works of Art Exhibited.

By Mr. G. W. HOPE. A coloured representation of a sepulchral urn, very elaborately ornamented, as shown by the accompanying woodcut. It was found in 1802 on Mr. Hope's estates at Luffness, Haddingtonshire, on the shores of the Firth of Forth near Aberlady, and a few miles south-west of North Berwick. This urn measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, diameter at the mouth $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches, at the base $3\frac{1}{4}$. The surface is entirely covered with scored or punctured ornaments, in horizontal lines, perpendicular strokes, and zigzags, impressed on the clay whilst moist with a blunt implement. A calcareous granulation has formed over the surface, as found on urns long enclosed in cists or cairns in certain soils. In fashion and the general style of its rude ornamentation, this remarkable relic resembles those found in various localities in Scotland, in Northumberland, and in Ireland. They belong to an age when weapons and ornaments of bronze were in use. An urn very similar to that found at Luffness, but less elaborately decorated, was discovered at Ratho, a few miles south-west of Edinburgh, and is now in the Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. It is figured in Dr. Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, p. 288. It contained ashes and fragments of bone, with portions of bronze rings and the handle of a small bronze vessel.

By Capt. OAKES.—Several iron relics of the Anglo-Saxon period, consisting of a sword, two spear-heads, the blade of a dagger or knife, and two portions of bosses of shields, of the usual forms occurring with remains of that age; they were found during the construction of the railway from Maidenhead to Wycombe, about the year 1854, at a place called Noah's Ark, on the hill about half a mile north of the station at Cookham, Berks, and about the same distance from the Thames. Other similar weapons were discovered at the same time, also an iron object, described as resembling a saucepan without a handle, possibly another form of the *Umbo*, and a two-handled vessel, supposed to be of bronze, stated to have resembled a sugar-basin. It may have been one of the curious vessels of the period, of which examples are figured in Mr. Roach Smith's *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pl. xvi., and the *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, by Mr. Akerman, pl. x.

⁶ Petrie's *Inquiry*, p. 320. *Four Masters*, vol. ii. p. 729.

Six human skeletons were disinterred near the relics exhibited ; they lay in a bed of gravel, about nine feet beneath the surface.

Captain Oakes brought also for exhibition a very remarkable dagger found a few years since in the Thames, at the foot of Clifden Wood, between Cookham and Maidenhead, where there is a ferry. The blade is of iron, the scabbard of bronze, of most singular fashion. This highly curious weapon, supposed however by Mr. Hewitt to be possibly Indian, appears to be of the same period as the bronze sheaths found in the Isis, one of which is figured in this Journal, vol. x., p. 259. See also the Catalogue of the Museum formed at the Edinburgh Meeting of the Institute, p. 24. Capt. Oakes observed that the spot where the dagger was found is adjacent to a mead, known as Bartle Mead or Battle Mead. The Saxon antiquities and the dagger are now in the possession of Mr. Child, the schoolmaster of the village of Cookham.

Capt. Oakes exhibited also a rubbing of the following inscription and sepulchral brasses in Cookham Church, not mentioned by Lysons in his History of Berkshire.

Of y^r Charite pray for the Soules of Robert Pecke, Esquire, Sumtyme Master Clerke of the Spycerry with Kyng Harri the Syxte, and Annes hys wyfe, wyche Robert decessyd the xiii. day of Januer the yere of our lord god a thousand ccccc. and x. on Whos Soules and all Crysten Saules Jh'u have M'cy.

Above, in the dexter corner of the slab, is a shield lozengy, but whether with a charge or not cannot be ascertained, as a stone pillar, supporting the upper part of the monument, has been placed immediately upon it. In the sinister corner, is a shield charged with a bend, three eaglets displayed.

Between these is a representation of the Trinity. The Ancient of Days is represented bearing the crucified Saviour and the sacred dove on his breast. Below this, are two full-length figures, that of a man, with a label inscribed Sancta Trinitas, Unus Deus, miserere nobis ; and that of a woman with the inscription, Virgo Dei digna precantibus esto benigna. Burke, in his Armory, gives lozengy *or* and *gules*, a saltire *ermine*, as the coat of Pecke of Berkshire. With the objects above described, Capt. Oakes brought some pieces of stained glass, which had been thrown aside as useless during the so-called Restoration of the church of Hedsor in Buckinghamshire. One of these fragments, bearing the head of our Lord, appeared to be of early date, and well worthy of preservation.

By the Lord BRAYBROOKE, V.P.—A very rich jewelled ring, formerly in possession of Tipú Sahib, and thus described in the privately printed catalogue of Lord Braybrooke's *Dactylothea*. "This magnificent jewel has a plain gold hoop, with the entire surface set with rubies ; on the centre is perched a large bird, apparently intended for a hawk, made of gold, and beautifully executed, with the plumage completely composed of precious stones, the diamond, emerald, ruby, and sapphire. A better idea of the splendour of this ornament will be found from a description of the size of the bird. Length, from the base of the bill to the end of the tail, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; girth round the body, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; width, across the scapulars, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch ; width across the tail, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch ; height, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. In the beak are two small ruby drops, a single emerald in the crest, and rubies for the eyes : a single row of nine sapphires encircles the throat, and 139 rubies, including those on the hoop, 14 in number, with 29 diamonds, some of them very large, and all set flat, cover the rest of the neck, breast, back and tail. Several gems besides have

been lost from their settings. Across the belly behind the legs is an inscription in some Indian characters, which has not yet been explained . . . This unique and interesting ring was brought from India by some one in the army at the time of the capture of Seringapatam, 1792, under the first Marquis Cornwallis, and presented to his family, by whom it has been preserved, and descended as an heirloom through his eldest grandchild, the late Lady Braybrooke. It was stated at the time of its presentation that Tipú was in the habit of wearing it when he went out hawking, perhaps only when he did so in state. Weight, 2 oz. 6 dwts., 7 grs."

Mr. W. S. VAUX, to whom the inscription has been submitted, stated that the characters are a corruption of the ordinary Deranágari or Sanscrit; he had deciphered the first part, which appears to read Maharájah, the commencement of Tipú's titles, and the sequel, which he had not been able to read, must doubtless signify the remainder of them.

By Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P.—A fine mediæval girdle, mounted with armorial decorations and nielli.

By Mr. R. READY.—An impression from a remarkable personal seal, of the fourteenth century. The device is formed by two lions sejant, one head in the centre of the seal being common to the two bodies; in the background is a tree. The seal is circular, the diameter an inch, less one sixteenth. ✱ SIGILLVM : ROBERTI : DE : WODEHOUSE : This singular device recalls that of Edmund Crouchback, three leopards uniting in one head, as seen upon his seal, and in painted glass in Trumpington Church, figured in Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, Cambridgeshire, p. 58. The single lion couchant, so often found on seals of the fourteenth century with the unexplained motto WAKE ME NO MAN, has been noticed in this volume, p. 178, *ante*. It is possible that the seal described may have been a privy seal used by Robert de Wodehouse, brother of Sir William de Wodehouse, who was Sheriff of London in 1329. Robert was Chaplain to Edward II.; he was made Baron of the Exchequer in 1318; Archdeacon of Richmond, 1328, and Treasurer of the Exchequer, 1329.



By Mr. A. W. FRANKS.—Impression from a brass signet ring found in the Duke of Devonshire's canal at Chiswick. The impress is a merchant's mark, apparently combined with the numeral 2, in this instance thrice repeated. Another example of a mark with this numeral has been figured in this Journal, vol. xii., p. 294. Many of these curious devices, in which numerals appear to be introduced, are figured in the extensive series of merchants' marks from Norwich, communicated to the Norfolk Archæological Society by Mr. Ewing. Compare plate 4, fig. 19; pl. 5, fig. 27; pl. 6, fig. 11; pl. 8, fig. 23; pl. 9, fig. 3, &c. *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. iii. p. 177. The intention of these supposed numerical devices has not been shown.

Capt. EDWARD HOARE, North Cork Rifles, has called our attention to an error in the description of the singular ornament in his collection, bearing an impression in metal of the seal of Thomas, bishop of Man, as given in this Journal, vol. xiv., p. 356. It was inadvertently stated to be in three pieces, being thus represented in the lithograph for which we were indebted to Capt. Hoare. He requests that it may be more correctly described: it is unbroken, a small portion at one end excepted; and it is circular, like a bracelet. We regret that no light has been thrown on the intention of so curious a relic, of which a duplicate, with slight variations, was produced in the Manchester Exhibition.

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

COLLECTIONS OF THE SURREY ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Part II., completing the First Volume. London: Published for the Society by Loveil Reeve, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. 1858. Octavo.

IN a former volume of this Journal, we took occasion to commend to the notice of our readers the exertions of the Society, whose investigations are specially addressed to the county of Surrey. We have now to record with pleasure the completion of the first volume of the Surrey Collections, recently issued to the members, the precursor, as we hope, of further contributions to local history, of increasing value and interest.

The second part of the publications of the Surrey Society commences with a memoir by Mr. G. Pocock, on the great Benedictine monastery of Chertsey, and the remarkable disinterment of those curious vestiges of its ancient splendour, of which various notices have been brought before the Institute by Mr. Westwood and other members. The large measure of public interest with which those discoveries were regarded, and the praiseworthy efforts made for the preservation of the scattered relics, was doubtless in a great degree stimulated by the General Meeting of the Surrey Archæologists at Chertsey, in the spring of 1855. The highest commendation is moreover due to the persevering watchfulness and good taste shown by a resident in that town, Mr. Shurlock, to whom we are mainly indebted for rescuing these interesting remains from oblivion. Of the remarkable pavement tiles found on the site of the south transept of the Conventual church, some examples have been produced at the meetings of the Institute; the graceful perfection and variety of their design, unequalled in any objects of the same description, have been admirably reproduced by Mr. Henry Shaw, F.S.A., in the coloured representations of Tile Pavements from Chertsey Abbey, which form a striking feature of his beautiful work in illustration of this class of architectural enrichments.

Mr. Pocock's memorials of Chertsey Abbey, from the primitive foundation at *Cerotaesei*, or *Ceroti Insula*, recorded by Bede, will be read with interest. Its insulated position presented no obstacle to the savage incursions of the Northmen, who put the whole community to the sword; the monastery, reared anew from its ashes through the munificence of Edgar, was assigned to the Benedictines. From that period its importance commenced. The remains recently brought to light appear to date, however, from the erection of a more sumptuous fabric, under Abbot Hugh of Winchester, who was related to King Stephen. The pavement of decorative tiles is of rather later date, and may be assigned to the thirteenth century. This elaborate work was found in a most fragmentary condition, having probably been destroyed through wanton mischief, during the devastations which speedily followed the suppression of religious houses. Amidst foliage of very graceful design were introduced circular compartments, representing subjects of most heterogeneous character, mailed

warriors, the mounted crossbowman, the conflict with the lion, so favourite a feature of mediæval decorations, champions engaged in contest, with buckler and *uncinus*, subjects also which seem to reproduce the incidents of romance, in lieu of such as might properly adorn a conventual church. We owe to the unwearied exertions and ingenuity of Mr. Shurlock the successful combination of these *disjecta membra*, which has enabled Mr. Shaw to enrich his work above-mentioned with such remarkable examples.¹ The original tiles have recently been added to the instructive collections in the Architectural Museum at Kensington, and some choice specimens are to be seen in the British Museum. Mr. Pocock's Memoir is illustrated by a plan of the conventual church ; a map of the abbey and demesne, reduced from the ancient ichnography preserved in the Exchequer Leiger ; and a curious representation of the late excavations, with several interments in which certain unusual details were observed by Mr. Shurlock, as here related. The plate last-mentioned has been executed by Mr. Le Keux from one of Captain Oakes' most successful photographs, which, with his accustomed kindness, was brought before our Society about the time of the discovery. The most interesting seals of Chertsey Abbey are given ; and of these we are enabled, by the obliging permission of the Council of the Surrey Society, to place two before our readers. Surrey is singularly rich in productions of Sphragistic Art, and the seals of Merton Abbey may be cited amongst the finest existing productions of their class.² The seals here figured are those of two abbots of Chertsey, John de Medmenham, who succeeded in 1261, and Bartholomew de Winton, his successor, in 1272. They are of very skilful execution : on the former may be noticed an unusual trefoiled ornament upon the chasuble, probably the *rationale* : the privilege of wearing the mitre had not been conceded to the abbots. The name, it may be observed, is written CHERTESEYE and CERTESEYE on these seals, a name, which preserves in its termination the memory of the *Ceroti Insula*, and the Saxon *Æge*, an Island, an Ait, a local term still so familiar to those who resort to the banks of the Thames. On the interesting seal of Abbot Bartholomew, will be seen introduced in the field the keys of St. Peter, on the dexter, and the symbol of St. Paul on the sinister side. The keys and sword, it will be remembered, appear in the arms attributed to the Abbey. The ancient conventual seal is figured in Mr. Pocock's Memoir ; the fragment of this seal, appended to the Surrender, had been etched by John Coney, in one of his spirited plates of seals in the new edition of the Monasticon, vol. i. pl. v. ; and it has been given subsequently in Britton and Brayley's History of Surrey, vol. ii. p. 182. The reading of the name of Chertsey in its legend is obscure ; Mr. Pocock suggests CERETIS ÆDIS, which can scarcely be admitted. The comparison of the more perfect impression, copied by Mr. Ready amongst the muniments of Winchester College, would suggest CERETISÆGIE, or possibly ÆGTE, which is more in conformity with the Cirotesegt of Earl Frithewald's foundation charter. In taking leave of this interesting subject, we must express the hope, that through the influence of the Surrey Society the publication of the valuable register of Abbot Rutherwyke's

¹ Specimens of Tile Pavements, drawn from existing authorities, by Henry Shaw, F.S.A. 4to. The seventh Part of this attractive publication is devoted to

the recent discoveries at Chertsey.

² These, and many Surrey Seals, may be obtained from Mr. R. Ready, High Street, Lowestoft.

SEALS OF THE ABBOTS OF CHERTSEY, SURREY.



Seal of Abbot John de Medmenham, A.D. 1261.



Seal of Abbot Bartholomew de Winton, A.D. 1272.

administration may be achieved. It exists amongst the Cottonian MSS., and such an illustration of monastic economy and usages, at the commencement of the fourteenth century, might present a valuable sequel to Mr. Rokewode's edition of the Annals of Jocelin de Brakelond.

To Mr. W. H. HART, F.S.A., we are indebted for a paper on the Manor of Hatcham, from the time of Brixi the Saxon, whose name is perpetuated in that of Brixton or Brixi's stone. The descent appears to be traced with considerable research and investigation of public records, of which the value was comparatively little known to the topographers of the last century. Mr. G. R. Corner's Memoir on the History of Horseleydown in Southwark, read before the Society at a meeting of the Society held there in 1855, comprises many curious details of local history; it is illustrated by a plan of "Horseye Down," dated 1544, and a very skilful etching by Mr. Le Keux of the remarkable representation of a fair or festival in 1590. The original picture is at Hatfield, and it has been attributed to Holbein; but it is stated, with greater probability, to be the work of the Flemish painter, George Hofnagle. A copy by Grignon is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, and the plate has been executed by aid of a photograph by Dr. Diamond; who has most skilfully reproduced all the picturesque details of the busy scene, in which it had been traditionally asserted that Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn figured, amidst groups of citizens at their disports in Southwark.*

Miss JULIA BOCKETT has contributed a collection of Wills of residents in Surrey, between 1497 and 1522, from originals formerly in Kingston church; a collection of Wills relating to Southwark is also given by Mr. Corner. Mr. Cuthbert Johnson supplies notices of Cold Harbour, Croydon, read at the Annual Meeting in that town, in 1856, and he offers some remarks on that mysterious name, which there designates a little group of houses between Waddon and Haling. He adverts to the observations of Sir R. Colt Hoare, *Ancient Wilts*, vol. i. p. 40, who sought a Celtic etymon in *col*, a head or chief; he cites also the remarks of Mr. Arthur Taylor and of Admiral Smyth, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxi. p. 120; according to the theory of the latter the innumerable Cold Harbours may be mere vestiges of Ophite worship, the name being a corruption of *Coluber*. Whilst some contend that the name merely means a very cold place, or a harbour against the cold in exposed localities, as set forth by a correspondent of Mr. Urban, *Gent. Mag.*, May, 1856, others, with Mr. Benjamin Williams, assert that Cold Harbours are by no means always in cold positions, and that in some of the Teutonic dialects *kol* signifies fire, the very opposite of cool. Those who may desire to compare fully the conflicting opinions of the learned on this *crucicula antiquariorum*, will do well to peruse the Rev. C. Hartshorne's remarks in his *Salopia Antiqua*, p. 253, accompanied by a list of localities bearing the name; Mr. Wedgewood's memoir in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, vol. ii.; and the Rev. W. Monkhouse's facetious disquisition delivered at a meeting of the Bedfordshire Architectural and Archæological Society, and printed among the Reports and Papers produced by that body with the Lincoln and the Worcester Societies, for the year 1856. They will not omit also to

* It may be acceptable to some of our readers to be informed that separate impressions of Mr. Le Keux's beautiful

plate may be obtained on application to the Hon. Secretary, G. Bish Webb, Esq. 6, Southampton Street, Covent Garden.

consult the full list of "Cold Harbours," extending to no less than 143 examples, collected by Mr. Hyde Clarke, in *Notes and Queries*, Series 2, vol. vi. p. 143. Mr. Johnson has not overlooked the material fact that the name occurs likewise in Germany; Cald Herberge, called Kaltenherberg in Murray's Handbook, is found between Aix-la-Chapelle and Treves, and other localities thus named might be pointed out. The limits of the present notice forbid our entering upon this controversy; it may, however, be observed that undeniably, as we believe, a "Cold Harbour," is mostly found in the vicinity of some ancient line of communication, although very commonly at a short distance from it, and that the localities thus designated appear to be sheltered or exposed, indiscriminately; they occur alike on high ground frequently taken for the course of ancient roads, or on declivities and in hollows adjacent to it. Harbour, it can scarcely be questioned, denotes a station, a halting place, a lodging for the traveller. A friend deeply versed in such vestiges of early occupation, and specially in those of Surrey, suggests that there must have been some very common object to diffuse so common a name; and what more common than water, "*Vilissima rerum ... aqua*;" what more necessary than a watering-place near the roadside? Mr. Johnson remarks that Cold Harbour near Croydon is close to one of the chief springs of the Wandle, and other examples are not wanting. The locality so named at Emsworth, on the borders of Sussex and Hants, is adjacent to the old Roman way towards *Regnum*, and close to the remarkable spring below high water mark, and from which alone the town is supplied; the water is drawn whilst the tide is low, and sold to the inhabitants. If the exception be taken, that there are not only Cold Harbours but Cold Kitchens to be accounted for, let it be remembered that at the place bearing the latter name, situate on the Surrey Downs above Shere, there is a spring of some celebrity, since it was observed that this source was much agitated by the earthquake which occurred at Chichester and on the southern coast about 1830. Kald, it must be considered, signifies a well in the vernacular of Craven, of Westmoreland, and of other districts of the north, as we learn from the Glossarists. Halikeld designates a Holy well; and Akeld in Northumberland is doubtless aye-keld, from the ever-gushing source there found. On the Tyne, as also on Ullswater, a smooth place in water, such as a strong spring might produce, is termed a keld. May not the epithet "cold" be traced also to the occurrence of water?

Mr. BOUTELL, whose works on Sepulchral Brasses have done much to extend the taste for collecting memorials of that description, contributes a notice, with special reference to those at Stoke Dabernon. The two examples there preserved may confer on Surrey a foremost place amongst localities rich in these vestiges of mediæval art. Brasses of foreign workmanship exist at Fulham and at Ockham; the most interesting, however, of the engraved effigies in Surrey are those of Sir John d'Aubernoun, who is supposed to have died in 1277, and of Sir John, his son, who died in 1327. Of the latter, a curious and instructive exemplification of military costume in the times of Edward I. and Edward II., the kind permission of the council of the Surrey Society enables us to place a representation before our readers. These fine sepulchral portraits are nearly of life-size; the earlier one has repeatedly been engraved, but in no instance with such perfection as in Messrs. Waller's admirable Series of Monumental Brasses, accompanied by a valuable memoir. This figure is one of the few existing examples of the use of enamel for the enrichment of brasses: Sir



Sepulchral Brass of Sir John d'Aubernoun, at Stoke Dabernon Church, Surrey.

He died A.D. 1327.

John bore *azure*, a chevron *or* : the azure is represented on his shield by a clear blue vitrified colour, introduced above and below the chevron, by means of two separate plates of copper, which presented casements or shallow cavities in which the enamel was fused, as in the *champlevé* work of the earlier productions of Limoges. The mixed yellow metal of which sepulchral brasses were formed would not bear the requisite degree of heat. The later figure, of which the accompanying woodcut gives a faithful representation, had possibly been ornamented in like manner, but no trace of the vitrified colour now remains.

The volume closes with Genealogical and Heraldic Memoranda relating to Surrey, comprising pedigrees and achievements of Digges of Reigate, and Carew of Beddington. We are indebted to Mr. W. H. Hart and Mr. J. Jackson Howard for this commencement of a very valuable Section of materials for local history.

Archæological Intelligence.

ON a former occasion (see page 198, *ante*) we called the attention of our readers to the satisfactory progress of the series of Historical materials, in course of publication by authority of the Government.

The "*Rerum Britannicarum Medii Ævi Scriptores*," are not, however, the only boon for which the student of History is indebted to the discrimination and judgment of the Master of the Rolls. The facilities at length afforded to the historian through the Calendars of State Papers, published under his direction, and with the sanction of H. M. Secretary of State for the Home Department, cannot be too highly appreciated. They comprise the Domestic Series during a most important period. The Calendars of the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 1547—80, have been edited by Mr. R. Lemon; the reign of James I., forming two volumes, 1603—18, has been edited by Mrs. M. A. Green; and the reign of Charles I. has been produced under the charge of Mr. Bruce. Each volume (in royal 8vo., price 15s.) has a copious index of Persons, Places and Subjects, so that reference to ascertain what information is to be found on these matters can be made with the greatest facility. A very desirable continuation of this Series of English State Papers has recently been completed by Mr. Markham J. Thorpe, consisting of State Papers relating to Scotland, from the reign of Henry VIII. to the accession of James I., with the correspondence relating to Mary Queen of Scots during her detention in England.

The Rev. HERBERT HAINES, (Paddock House, Gloucester), will shortly issue to the Subscribers his Manual for the Study of Monumental Brasses, with an extensive list of the examples remaining in the British Isles, based on that compiled by the Rev. C. R. Manning, which has long been out of print. The price of the volume, containing numerous illustrations, will not exceed twelve shillings to Subscribers.

During the last session of Parliament, a Bill for the remedy of the evils arising from the law of "*Treasure Trove*," was presented in the House of Lords by our President, Lord Talbot de Malahide, and ordered to be printed. In Scotland the question of *Treasure Trove*, as we are gratified to learn, seems rapidly approaching a satisfactory settlement. The Commissioners of Supply, who are chiefly the landed proprietors, recently consented in nearly

every county, at their half-yearly meetings, to make common cause with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, responding to the Society's appeal by passing resolutions to the effect that Government should deal with this subject for the interests of Archæological science. At the Treasury no disinclination was apparently exhibited to accede to these united representations : communication was instituted with the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer for Scotland, who is charged with the administration of the law in question ; and from the reasonable manner in which he has hitherto, so far as its nature allowed, directed its execution, combined with what we hope may be regarded as the favourable feeling of the Treasury, there is little doubt that an enlightened and practically beneficial alteration will speedily be arranged. The chief anticipated results of such a change, are the recognition of a right on the part of the finder of ancient objects to their full value, and the modification of the law in such a manner as to render it of scientific utility by securing, as far as possible, the deposit of all casually discovered relics in the Museum of National Antiquities at Edinburgh. This institution is now constituted in a form which will shortly become worthy of its designation. The collection of which it consists, formed, during the greater part of a century, by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, was transferred some years ago to the Treasury for the public behoof, simply on the condition that it should be accommodated and maintained as a government establishment. At length, after various delays, this arrangement is completed. A handsome suite of rooms, formerly occupied by the National Gallery in the Royal Institution at Edinburgh, has been allotted for the Antiquarian Museum, with a grant of £2030 for necessary fittings, and an allowance of £300 a year for the expenses of the establishment. Cases and wall-presses are already in course of construction, and in a few months the Scottish Society's valuable collection will be transferred to the new depository with certain extensive additions which have recently been presented. With a representative institution of this nature, presided over by the Society which originally nurtured it, and to which the right of custody has been preserved, Scottish Archæology will possess a central rallying point capable of producing, if adequately sustained and developed, as there is every reason to hope, all the fruits which organised co-operation is calculated to secure.

The provisions of the Bill "for the Amendment of the Law relating to Treasure Trove," presented by Lord Talbot, are as follows :—That if any person find property falling under the description of Treasure Trove, he shall without delay deposit the same with some Justice of the Peace, on pain of forfeiture of claim to compensation (hereafter to be mentioned), and of being deemed guilty of a misdemeanor. The Justice shall make inquiry into the circumstances of finding the treasure, and forward the treasure to the Commissioners of H. M. Treasury, who shall forthwith take measures to ascertain its value, by submitting it to the Curator of Antiquities at the British Museum, the President of the Society of Antiquaries, and other equally competent persons. That regard shall be had to the antiquarian value, as well as to the intrinsic worth of the objects discovered ; and that, when such value is ascertained, the Commissioners shall remit to the finder the amount thereof. The Commissioners shall, with the sanction of Her Majesty, deposit such treasure in the British Museum, or in such national, provincial, or other public museum as they think fit. There are also clauses regarding settlement of disputes as to the person entitled to compensation as

finder of any treasure ; the power to search for treasure suspected to be secreted, and to seize the same, &c. The Bill presented by Lord Talbot, it must be observed, does not apply to Scotland. It may appear desirable, in dealing with this difficult question, which we hope may ultimately be brought to a satisfactory adjustment, that, to obviate the discouragement of archæological investigations, suitable provision should be made by which persons, either the owner of the soil, or those authorised by the owner to undertake antiquarian excavations, may be entitled to the possession of any Treasure Trove which might thus be brought to light.

The Rev. Dr. COLLINWOOD BRUCE has announced a third edition of his *Historical and Topographical description of the Roman Wall*, for which he has made extensive preparations, and which will contain about two hundred woodcut illustrations, with several lithographic views, in addition to those previously given in his valuable work on the great Northern Barrier. The results of the survey of the wall, undertaken by direction of the Duke of Northumberland, and accounts of excavations at Bremenium, Borcovicus, and other places, will be given. A few copies will be printed in folio, to range with Horsley's *Britannia Romana*. For these immediate application is requisite, the number of copies being very limited. The Publishers are, John Russell Smith, Soho Square, London ; and Messrs. Pigg, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Mr. B. B. WOODWARD, F.S.A., announces, as shortly to be published, Part I. of his *General History of HAMPSHIRE*, a county which has hitherto received so little attention from topographical writers. It will form three volumes, quarto : to be published in monthly parts. Those persons who take an interest in this undertaking, or who may be disposed to contribute any local information, are requested to communicate with the author, 20, Eton Villas, Haverstock Hill. Mr. Woodward will also speedily produce (by subscription) the *History and Antiquities of Bungay in Suffolk* ; with notices of the surrounding parishes ; to form one volume, demy octavo, illustrated with maps and views.

The Rev. Dr. HUME, of Liverpool, Secretary of the Historic Society of Lancashire, whose interesting Memoir, communicated at the Meeting of the Institute in Lincoln, called the attention of the antiquary to the curious character of the relics of all periods brought to light at Hoylake, will very shortly issue to the subscribers his detailed work on those remarkable discoveries, with representations of the principal objects. An extensive assemblage of these remains were contributed to the Museum of the Institute at the Chester Meeting by Mr. Mayer, Dr. Hume, and other local collectors.

The Rev. J. GRAVES, author of the *History of the Cathedral Church of Kilkenny*, has prepared for publication the *Taxations and Values of Benefices in the Diocese of Ossory*, from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century : with *Memoirs of the Bishops of that See*, and of the Dignitaries of the Church of St. Canice. Subscribers' names are received by the author, Kilkenny, or Messrs. Mc Glashan, Upper Sackville Street, Dublin.

The Archaeological Journal.

DECEMBER, 1858.

THE HISTORIA BRITONUM OF GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH.

IN the year 1770, now more than three-quarters of a century ago, J. R. Sinner, the librarian of the Public Library at Berne, in Switzerland, published the second volume of his Catalogue of the Manuscripts contained in that library, among which a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth's History is thus noticed, vol. ii. p. 241.

" No. 568. Gaufridi Monemutensis Historia Regum Anglorum, a prima vel fabulosa gentis origine, usque ad annum Christi 616.

" Editus fuit inter Scriptores rerum Britannicarum, Heidelbergæ, 1587, folio. Codex noster tamen aliquatenus ab editis diversus est. In his opus dedicatur *Roberto Comiti Claudiocestre* (Glocester), in codice nostro dedicatur *Regi Stephano*. Librorum divisio nulla in nostro apparet."

One would have supposed that so remarkable a fact as is here pointed out, namely, the dedication of Geoffrey's celebrated work to *King Stephen*,—whereas in all the other extant copies, it is addressed to *Robert, Earl of Gloucester*, natural son of Henry I.,—would have attracted immediate attention to the manuscript. The fame of the work itself, as the fountain-head of legendary British history and poetry, and the source of—

" what resounds

In fable or romance of Uther's son,

Begirt with British and Armoric knights,"—

as well as its being the original to which we are indebted for the writings of Wace, Layamon, Robert of Gloucester (the rhyming historian), Robert of Brunne, and many more,—not to mention its influence on the historical literature of

England up to the seventeenth century,—would combine, not without reason, to claim for it an unusual degree of interest. Yet among the numerous writers who since Sinner's time have discussed the authenticity of Geoffrey's History, or illustrated its contents, I do not find above one or two who have vouchsafed even to notice the manuscript at Berne. Roquefort in his "Etat de la Poésie Française," p. 143, published in 1815, briefly refers to it, and Sharon Turner repeats from him the reference in his "History of England during the Middle Ages," vol. iv. pp. 218, 281, edit. 1830, but without a word of comment; so that up to the present time neither in England nor on the Continent does the subject seem to have occasioned any inquiry. The latest editor of Geoffrey, Dr. Giles,¹ and the author of the "Biographia Britannica Literaria," both omit all mention of it!²

This dedication, however, of Geoffrey's work to Stephen,—even if regarded as a mere literary curiosity,—had always appeared to myself to deserve more special notice; and having recently had an opportunity of visiting Berne, I eagerly took advantage of it, to call at the Public Library and examine the manuscript in question,³ the result of which examination I now communicate. The volume is very imperfectly described by Sinner, and it may therefore receive a fuller notice here.

It is a small quarto, on vellum, containing various Latin treatises (most of which, although now bound together, were originally distinct), written in hands of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of its former history we only know from the autograph signatures yet remaining in it, that it belonged in the sixteenth century to Barnabé Brisson, *President à Mortier* of the Parliament at Paris; then, in 1564, to Pierre Daniel of Orleans; from whom it passed to Jacques Bongars, the diplomatist and historian, who died in 1612, and bequeathed his library to René Gravisset, whose son Jacques, about the year 1638, gave the manu-

¹ Dr. Giles reprinted Thompson's translation of Geoffrey in 1842, and the original Latin text in 1844.

² Since I wrote the above, I have seen the edition of Geoffrey by San Marte [A. Schulz], Halle, 1854. 8vo. In his preface the editor merely gives a reference to Sinner, but infers from the Berne

Prologue, that a second "redaction" of Geoffrey's work was published.

³ I have to express my thanks to M. Chs. Ls. de Steiger, the Principal Librarian, for his courtesy in subsequently consulting the manuscript for me, in consequence of a doubt as to a portion of the contents.

script, with the rest of Bongars' books, to the Public Library of Berne. The contents of this volume are as follows :—

1. A collection of Papal and other Letters, many of which are addressed to Roger, Archbishop of York, who died in 1181.
2. An imperfect tract of Petrus Alphonsus.
3. A Poem in the form of a dialogue, the personages in which are, *Baucis, Glicerium, Traso, Davus, and Birria*; apparently borrowed from Terence (4½ pages).
4. *The History of Geoffrey of Monmouth.*
5. Short Annals of the Anglo-Saxon period, from A.D. 409 to A.D. 616.
6. The Life of St. Edward, by Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, who died in 1166.
- 7 The Epistles of Arnulph, Bishop of Lizieux [from 1141 to 1177], together with his Sermons at the Council of Tours, A.D. 1163, and Poems.

The work of Geoffrey is the fourth tract in the manuscript, and is written in a hand of the twelfth century; but what is remarkable, the Prologue or Dedication, together with the first chapter (ending with the words "latius explicabitur") and also the closing page of the last book, are in a second, and apparently *somewhat later* hand. There is no rubric or heading prefixed, but the Dedication commences, as in the usual copies, with the words, "Cum mecum multa et de multis sepius animo revolvens;" and continues to agree with the received text as far as the words, "ipsos commorari oporteret." It is from this paragraph that the variations commence, which render this copy so remarkable. The name of *Robert, Earl of Gloucester*, has been taken out, and the name of *King Stephen* substituted in its place; and a few other sentences are altered, in conformity with this change of name, but done in so inartificial a manner, and with so little disguise, that it is surprising how any writer could have ventured on such a step, and not rather have cancelled the whole of the original Dedication. The terms of praise in which the Earl of Gloucester had been addressed, in regard to his proficiency in the liberal arts, were well merited, and are amply borne out by the contemporary testimony of William of Malmesbury, but could hardly be applicable to Stephen, except by licence of the grossest flattery. To show, however, more completely the variations made in this Dedication, I copy below the passages in parallel columns; the text on the left hand being taken from a fine MS. written in the latter half of the twelfth century, which

formerly belonged to the monastery of Margan, founded by Robert himself in 1147; and that on the right hand from the Berne MS. The variations in the latter are marked in *Italics*.

Old Royal MS. 13 D. II.

Opusculo igitur meo, Roberte, dux Claudiocestrie, faveas, ut sic te ductore, te monitore corrigatur, quod non ex Galfridi Monemutensis fonticulo censeatur exortum, sed sale Minerve tue conditum, illius dicatur editio, quem Henricus, illustris rex Anglorum, generavit; quem philosophia liberalibus artibus erudit; quem innata probitas in militia militibus prefecit; unde Britannia tibi nunc temporibus nostris, ac si alterum Henricum adepta, interno gratulatur affectu.

Berne MS. No. 568.

Opusculo igitur meo, *Stephane*, rex *Anglie*, faveas, ut sic te ductore, te monitore corrigatur, quod non ex Gaufridi Monemutensis fonticulo censeatur exortum,⁴ sed⁵ sale Minerve tue conditum, illius dicatur editio, *cujus* Henricus, illustris rex Anglorum, *avunculus extitit*; quem philosophia liberalibus artibus erudit; quem⁶ innata probitas in milicia militibus prefecit; unde Britannia *insula* tibi nunc temporibus nostris, acsi alterum Henricum adepta, interno gratulatur affectu.

It appears, however, that the author of the Berne Prologue by no means intended (as asserted by Sinner) to limit the dedication of his work to Stephen alone, but proposed to associate jointly with him his powerful antagonist Robert. It could scarcely, indeed, have been otherwise, without a gross act of ingratitude and injustice on the part of Geoffrey; for we learn from his contemporary Gaimar that, although the materials of his work were obtained from another quarter (namely, from Walter of Wallingford, Archdeacon of Oxford), yet that the translation was made by the desire and encouragement of the Earl of Gloucester.

Robert, li Quens de Gloucestre,
Fist translater icele geste,
Solum les liveres as Waleis,
K' il avoient des Bretons reis.⁷

This information is entirely corroborated by Geoffrey

⁴ extortum. *MS.*

⁵ set. *MS.*

⁶ quam. *MS.*

⁷ It would appear from Gaimar's statement (who wrote before the year 1151) that the very copy made for the Earl by Geoffrey was borrowed for his use by the Lady Constance, wife of Ralph Fitz-

Gilbert, who sent for it to Helmsley Castle, in Yorkshire, the seat of Walter Espec, to whom the MS. had been lent by the Earl of Gloucester. In the estimation of all these persons Geoffrey could not have been regarded as a mere "inventor of fables."

himself. In the usual copies of his work, the Dedication ends with the words above quoted, but in the Berne manuscript, the writer proceeds immediately afterwards to address his patron Robert in the following terms :—

“ Tu quoque, Roberte, consul Claudiocestrie, altera regni nostri columna, operam adibeas tuam, ut utriusque moderatione communicata, editio in medium producta et pulcrius elucescat. Te etenim ex illo celeberrimo rege Heurico progenitum, mater philosophia in gremio suo excepit, scientiarumque suarum subtilitate edocuit, ac deinde, ut in militaribus clareres exercitiis, ad castra regum direxit,⁸ ubi commilitones tuos audacter supergressus, et terror hostium insistere et protectio tuorum esse paternis auspiciis addidicisti. Fidelis itaque protectio tuorum existens, me tuum vatem, codicemque ad oblectamentum tuum editum sub tutela tua recipias, ut sub tegmine tam patule arboris recubans, calamus muse mee coram invidis atque improbis tute modulamine resonare queam.”

This supplementary Dedication would seem to bear the strongest internal evidence of its having proceeded from Geoffrey's pen, and it is highly curious in more than one point of view. At first, one would conclude that this was the very copy altered by the author himself, in conformity with the views he had newly adopted in regard to the patrons of his work ; but this supposition is forbidden, first by the numerous literal inaccuracies in the text of this manuscript, and next by the fact that it contains the *Prophecies of Merlin*,⁹ preceded by the epistle to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and the prefatory notice, the latter of which could not have been added to the work until after the death of the Bishop, the 20th July, 1147 ;¹ and, therefore, in all probability, subsequent also to the death of the Earl of Gloucester, which took place on the 31st of October following.

Two questions of much interest hence arise : first, at what period was the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth published ; and secondly, under what circumstances and when

⁸ *derexit. MS.*

⁹ It is agreed on all sides that the *Prophecies* formed originally no part of Geoffrey's work, but were translated while it was in progress, and, at a later period, added to it. Pits, p. 217, says, that the first draft of Geoffrey's History (*prima et simplex versio*) was comprised in four books only, a copy of which was said to be (in 1619) in the library of Corpus College, Cambridge. No such MS. is there at present, for the only early copy

of the work (No. 292, art. 1) although not divided into books, yet agrees with the Heidelberg edition of 1587, and contains the *Prophecies*. See Naamyth's Catalogue of the MSS. in C. C. C. 4to, 1777.

¹ Le Neve's *Fasti*, by Hardy, vol. ii. p. 8. Henry of Huntingdon says he fell ill at Auxerre, in August, 1147, and did not die till the year following. *Script. post Bedam*, f. 226. Hoveden copies this passage.

was this joint Dedication to King Stephen and Earl Robert likely to have been composed.

The former of these questions has already been the frequent subject of discussion, and its literary importance may warrant its being once more thoroughly examined. Mr. Wright, the talented author of the "Biographia Britannica Literaria," 8°. 1856, has assumed with too much confidence (from the terms in which the Bishop of Lincoln is mentioned²), that "the date of the publication of Geoffrey's History can be fixed to the autumn of the year 1147;" and this opinion has been incautiously followed by Mr. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization in England," p. 295. It is certain, however, that the passage relied on for this date proves only that the *second edition* of Geoffrey's work (with the addition of the Prophecies) appeared after the death of Bishop Alexander, in July, 1147. Nor was it unusual at that period for successive editions of historical works to be made, as we know from the instances of William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. That the work of Geoffrey, in its original form, must have been completed and given to the world before the year 1139, can be proved to demonstration; for in the early part of that year a copy of the work was seen and abridged by Henry of Huntingdon at the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, when he was on his way to Rome with Theobald, the newly consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.³ Of this fact there can be no doubt, for Henry of Huntingdon's own words are, in his Epistle to Warin the Briton,—when speaking of the events said to have happened in Britain previous to the time of Julius Cæsar,—*"Hoc tamen anno, qui est ab incarnatione Domini 1139, cùm Romam profiscerer cum Theobaldo, Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo, apud Beccum, ubi idem Archiepiscopus Abbas fuerat, scripta rerum prædictarum stupens inveni."* This manuscript was shown to him by Robert de Thorigni, then a monk at Bec, but subsequently Abbot of Mont St. Michel, and well known for his Additions to the Chronology of Sigebert of Gemblours. That this work was Geoffrey's

² "Non erat alter in clero sive in populo cui tot milites vel nobiles famularentur," etc. *Præf.* in lib. vii. ed. Giles, p. 118.

³ He was elected 13 December, 1138, and consecrated at London by the legate

Alberic, the 8th January, 1139. (*Le Neve's Fasti*, ed. Hardy.) On the 13th of the same month he set out for Rome, to obtain his pall. Joh. Hagustald, *ap. Twysden, Hist. Angl. Scriptt. Decem.* col. 265.

History, is not only certain from the abridgment made by Huntingdon, and sent to his friend Warin, but also from the words of the former at the close of his Epistle, where he writes, "Quorum si prolixitatem desideres, *librum grandem Gaufridi Arturi*,⁴ *quem apud Beccum cœnobium inveni*, diligenter requiras, ubi prædicta satis prolixè ac luculenter tractata reperies." A copy of this Epistle of Huntingdon to Warin was given to Robert de Thorigni, who annexed it to the Prologue to his Additions to Sigebert; and in this form it is found in several contemporary manuscripts.⁵ "Quam Epistolam," writes Robert, "cùm Romam idem Henricus pergeret, *me ei præbente copiam exemplaris totius Historiæ Britonum*, apud Beccum excripsit."

No novelty is claimed for the evidence thus adduced, for it was plainly stated by Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, in his Letter to Mr. Thomas Price⁶ (written previous to 1692); and, in recent times, the argument is also fairly put forth by Sharon Turner, in his History of England, vol. iv. p. 269. We can, therefore, have no difficulty in concluding, that Geoffrey's work was completed, *at latest*, in the year 1138, but how much earlier he may have composed it, rests mainly upon the assumed date of another writer, Alfred of Beverley, who abridged Geoffrey's History, and inserted it in his own. The Annals of this author, as printed by Hearne, in 1716, extend to October, 29 Henry I. [1128], and hence the editor too hastily concluded, first, that Alfred must have died in 1128 or 1129; and next, that Geoffrey was later, in point of time, than Alfred. The latter of these propositions may be dismissed at once as untrue, for it is now universally admitted to be so. Assuming,

⁴ William of Newburgh tells us, that Geoffrey of Monmouth was surnamed *Arthur*, "agnomen habens *Arturi*, pro eo quod fabulas de Arturo ex priscis Britonum figmentis sumptas et ex proprio auctas . . . honesto historiæ nomine palliavit." *Prot.* p. 4, ed. Hamilton, 1856. But this seems to be a mistake, since in the foundation charter of Robert de Oilli to Oseney Abbey, granted in 1129 (before Geoffrey's work was written, as I shall subsequently prove), I find him mentioned as a witness, under the appellation of *Gaufridus Artur*, in company with his friend Walter, the Archdeacon of Oxford. Dugd. *Monast.* vol. vi. p. 251, compared with MS. Cott. Vitell. E. xv. f. 5.

⁵ It is printed by D'Achery, with Robert de Thorigni's work, at the end of the "Opera Guiberti, Abbatis de Novigento," Paris, 1651, p. 736; and manuscript copies of the twelfth century may be found in the Old Royal MS. 13 C. xi. f. 192, and Harleian 651, f. 148; as also in a copy of Henry of Huntingdon's ten books, MS. Arundel 48, fol. 129. Sharon Turner contents himself, vol. iv. p. 269, with a reference to MS. Harl. 1018, art. 2, which contains only a recent copy, made in 1690.

⁶ Printed in Owen's "British Remains," 8°. Lond. 1777, p. 83, and in Gutch's "Collectanea Curiosa," 1781. vol. i. p. 253.

therefore, that Alfred of Beverley borrowed from Geoffrey of Monmouth, it becomes of moment to ascertain the real date of the former's compilation. Bale says that Alfred brought down his Annals to 1136, and died "*post aliquot annos*," some years afterwards. Pits, following Bale, says, "*sepulturæ traditus est circa annum 1136.*" It is, therefore, a grave error on the part of Turner and many modern writers, to cite Bale and Pits as stating Alfred to have died *in the year 1136.*⁷ That some copies of Alfred's work were in existence, which came down later than Hearne's text, is certain, not only from the testimony of Bale, but from a transcript preserved in the Harleian MS. 1018, art. i., which ends with the death of Henry I. in 1135. A similar copy also is expressly referred to by Bishop Lloyd,⁸ and extracts from a later manuscript than the one used by Hearne, were made by Lambarde in 1568, and are to be found in MS. Cott. Vespas. A. v. f. 18.

But besides these chronological data, an argument may be advanced from a remarkable passage in the Prologue to Alfred's work, which would seem to indicate clearly the period of its composition. It is as follows, "*In diebus silentii nostri, quando non poteramus reddere Deo quæ Dei erant, et tamen cogebarur reddere Cæsari quæ Cæsaris erant, quia propter præsentem excommunicatorum multitudinem, secundum Londoniensis Concilii decretum, a divinis cessabamus, et regiis exactionibus afflicti, vitam tædiosam agebamus, grassante oppressione qua, expulsis ad Regis edictum de sedibus suis ecclesiæ nostræ columnis, diu graviterque vexatus sum.*" Sharon Turner, who has minutely criticised the monk of Beverley's Annals, comes to the conclusion (chiefly founded on the above passage) that Geoffrey's History "was probably published before the year 1128"⁹ (vol. iv. p. 250), although in another place (*ib.* p. 270) he qualifies this opinion, by saying "it was composed or translated

⁷ Vossius, "De Hist. Lat." 1677, p. 393, gives the date of his death as 1126, which (as he merely copies from Bale and Pits) can be only regarded as a typographical error not worth notice. Schulz (Pref. to Geoffrey, p. xii.) fixes his death in 1138, and erroneously calls him Treasurer of St. John's Church at Cambridge, instead of Beverley!

⁸ Letter to Price, p. 88.

⁹ Misled by the authority of Turner, the same date has been adopted by Mr. Hallam, in his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," vol. i. p. 127, ed. 1843, and by Price in his edition of Warton's "History of English Poetry." Warton had himself spoken with more accuracy of Geoffrey's work, as "probably finished after the year 1138." Diss. i. p. viii.

in the latter portion of the reign of Henry I." He grounds the date 1128 on the following reasoning;—"Alured of Beverley ends his history in the 29th year of Henry I., and in his proëmium says, he carries it down to the 28th year; and that he wrote it in the days of his silence, when by a decree of the Council of London he ceased from his sacerdotal functions *inuitus*, and among many excommunicated. This exactly suits the 29th year of Henry I. or 1129, when the Council held at London suspended all married archdeacons and priests."¹ Now, it must be remarked, in the first place, that the proceedings at the Council of 1129, by no means bear out or agree with the language used by the Beverley annalist; and, in the next place, that Turner has erred greatly in quoting the date 28 (in some copies 27) Henry I., as part of Alfred's *proëm*, whereas, in fact, it only occurs in the *rubric or heading*, and is contradicted by the text of the work. Indeed, Hearne has pointed out that this date was not to be ascribed to the author, but to an error of the copyist. It is hardly worth while, however, to dwell on this, since the assumed date of 1128 or 1129 has been already proved to rest only on the imperfect edition of Hearne.

The passage, relied on by Mr. Turner in Alfred's *Annals* for this date, has been very differently interpreted by other writers. Bishop Lloyd, in the "Letter" already quoted, takes quite another, and, no doubt, a more correct view of it. According to him, Alfred refers to the decree of excommunication passed at the Council held at London in 1143, against the oppressors and violators of the Church, as also to the interdict laid in 1148 by Henry Murdac, Archbishop of York, on the party adverse to him throughout his province, and to the visit made by King Stephen to Beverley in 1149, and the fines imposed by him on the people for receiving Archbishop Henry.² Nearly the same period is advocated

¹ The Council referred to by Turner, "*de sacerdotum focariis prohibendis*," is mentioned in Roger Wendover, vol. ii. p. 210, ed. Coxe, and in the Saxon Chronicle, ad ann. 1129, p. 359, ed. Ingram. (In Wilkins' *Concilia*, vol. i. p. 411.)

² Letter, pp. 96—98. The Council alluded to, is noticed by Henry of Huntingdon, Hoveden, and Roger Wendover, all of whom agree that it took place "in

media quadragesima," but the latter places it in 1142, vol. ii. p. 232. The particulars of Archbishop Henry's interdict, and the fines imposed by King Stephen, may be found in John of Hexham's Continuation of Simeon of Durham, ap. Twyssen, coll. 277, 278. It must be remarked that the chronology of this writer is often faulty, and a year in advance. He places the events mentioned above, in 1149 and 1150. Compare God

by Clarke, in his Preface to Wotton's edition of the "*Leges Wallicæ*," in 1730 ; but he refers the events noticed by the Beverley chronicler, with less probability, to the year 1141, and to the Council held 7th December in that year, at which the adherents of Matilda were excommunicated.³ Warton, in his "*History of English Poetry*," with a sagacity more than ordinary, says that Alfred of Beverley's work was compiled "evidently between 1148 and 1150 ;"⁴ and Wright tells us with confidence, that "there cannot be the least doubt that Alfred refers to the troubles which arose in the diocese of York from the rivalry of the two Archbishops Henry and William, supported severally by the contending parties in the civil commotions of the reign of Stephen."⁵

In further corroboration also that Alfred of Beverley wrote after the death of Henry the First, I may refer to another work by him (still inedited) preserved in two transcripts of the sixteenth century, MS. Cott. Otho C. xvi., and Harl. 650, containing a treatise on the rights and privileges of Beverley Minster. The first portion of this work (which is certainly to be ascribed to Alfred) concludes with several charters of King Stephen, which prove it to have been written subsequent to the year 1135. In all probability, Alfred died during this reign, as otherwise he would doubtless have added the charters of Henry II. to his work.⁶

The circumstance also mentioned by Alfred, of the extreme popularity of Geoffrey of Monmouth's work at the time he wrote,⁷ will agree perfectly well with the year 1149 or 1150 (when I conclude the former to have compiled his *Annals*),

win, "*De Præsulibus Angliæ*," vol. ii. p. 250.

³ See Wilkins' *Concilia*, p. 421, from Malmesbury, *Hist. Nov.* vol. ii. p. 755, edit. Coxe. Several MSS. and Savile's edition of Malmesbury, refer the events of this year erroneously to 1142. In the same manner the events of 1142 (with which Malmesbury concludes his work) are assigned falsely to 1143.

⁴ *Diss.* i. p. viii.

⁵ *Biogr. Brit.* p. 153. Hardy, in his Preface to the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, says that Simeon of Durham's *Chronicles* were used by Alfred of Beverley about the year 1143, p. 88.

⁶ He says in his Prologue, "duxi ea posteritati memorie tradere, quæ vel scripto didici, vel quæ ipse oculis vidi, vel quæ junior a senioribus

audivi." Mr. Wright (by a pardonable error) supposed that the Cotton copy perished in the fire of 1731, and was not aware of the existence of the Harleian transcript. (See *Biogr. Brit.* p. 158.) I am not at present aware that any ancient copy of this work is to be met with. The second portion of it appears to have been added in the reign of Richard II., and the following title then prefixed, "*Libertates Ecclesiæ S. Johannis de Beverlik, cum privilegiis apostolicis et episcopalibus, quas Magister Alveredus, sacrista ejusdem ecclesiæ, de Anglico in Latinum transtulit.*"

⁷ "*Ferebantur tunc temporis per ora multorum narrationes de Historia Britonum, notamque rusticitatis incurrebat, qui talium narrationum scientiam non habebat.*" p. 2.

supposing Geoffrey's History to have been published in or before 1138; but if this popularity had been obtained previous to 1129, it is utterly incredible that Henry of Huntingdon should have remained in ignorance of the work for a period of ten years afterwards.

It remains now to discuss briefly the remaining question, as to the time when Geoffrey thought fit to alter the Dedication to his History. We know that he undertook it at the request of Robert Earl of Gloucester, and, in all probability, before the death of Henry I., since the Earl could scarcely have found leisure in the troubles of the years immediately following, to have given much attention to literary pursuits.⁸ We know also that Geoffrey had arrived at the close of his sixth book, before he put it by for a while, in order to oblige Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, by translating the Prophecies of Merlin.⁹ At that period (to judge from the terms in which he is mentioned,¹) the Bishop must have been at the height of his power and influence, and therefore it was, probably, about the same time when Henry of Huntingdon addressed him in his Prologue, as "*Flos et cacumen regni*," and "*Princeps a Rege secundus*." This period is generally assumed to be shortly after the accession of Stephen, to whose party Alexander, together with his uncle Roger, the powerful Bishop of Salisbury, had adhered. From Geoffrey himself we may gather some other indications of the date of his work, which coincide with the above supposition. Thus, in his Dedication, the terms in which he speaks of his patron the Earl of Gloucester, would seem to imply that Henry I. was then dead, and that Britain had cause to rejoice in seeing another Henry revived in the person of his illustrious son;²

⁸ Yet Malmesbury says of him, "*Litteras ita fovetis, ut cum sitis tantarum occupationum mole districti, horas tamen aliquas vobis surripiatis, quibus aut ipsi legere aut legentes positis audire*," vol. ii. p. 682. But this was previous to the death of Henry I.

⁹ It is worthy of notice, that Ordericus Vitalis quotes the Prophecies in his twelfth book, and, according to Delisle, in his admirable "*Notice sur Oderic Vital*" (prefixed to vol. v. of the *Hist. Ecclesiast.* 8vo. Par. 1855), this book must have been written in 1136 or 1137.

¹ Geoffrey writes, "*Non erat alter in clero sive in populo cui tot famularentur nobiles*," and alludes to the talent

he might show in poetry, "*nisi culmen honoris ad cetera negotia vocant*." Dugdale, in his *Origines Judiciales*, 1680, and Godwin, p. 284, state that he was the King's Chancellor, on the authority of William of Newburgh, lib. i. c. 6, but the chronicler here is in error, and ought to have spoken of Roger, the natural son of the Bishop of Salisbury, who was a witness to Stephen's Charter at Oxford, in 1136, and was imprisoned in 1139. See the *Gesta Stephani*, p. 28, ed. Sewell, Ric. Hagustald. p. 314, ap. Twysden, and Hen. Hunt. f. 223. In 1139, Bishop Alexander lost the King's favour, and never regained his position.

² "*Unde Britannia tibi nunc temporis*

whilst at the close of his work, he alludes to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, as the historians of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Now, the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of the former writer was completed, apparently, about the year 1125, but was afterwards revised and enlarged, at the request of the Earl of Gloucester,³ while the history of Henry of Huntingdon, as first published, concludes with the death of Henry I., although it was afterwards continued to 1148 and 1154. These dates therefore will very well correspond with the presumed period of Geoffrey's text.

From all that has been previously advanced, it would seem to be rendered tolerably certain, that Geoffrey's History must have been commenced before the death of Henry I., and completed between the commencement of 1136 and the end of 1138.⁴ Within this limited interval, therefore, the alteration in the dedicatory epistle, as seen in the Berne MS., must also have been made. The recent accession of Stephen to the throne must, doubtless, have occasioned a considerable change in the views of many persons, who were looking forward to their own advancement; and Geoffrey may have been tempted (after the example of his friend the Bishop of Lincoln) to pay court to the new monarch. It is obvious, however, that to account for a joint dedication of a work to persons who stood in so doubtful a relation to each other, we must fix on a time when these persons were friends, or, at least, not open enemies. Now, the only period during which Stephen and the Earl of Gloucester were on amicable terms, even in appearance, must have been between April, 1136, when Robert came over to England, and did homage to the King,⁵ and May, 1138, at which time the Earl sent to renounce the fealty he had sworn. We find Robert's name among

bis nostris, ac si alterum Henricum adepti, interno gratulatur affectu." This is the more apparent, when we find the same words applied in the Berne MS. to Stephen, the successor of Henry. See also Bishop Lloyd's Letter to Price, p. 74. Schulz, the German editor of Geoffrey, understands the words "*alterum Henricum*," to refer to Henry II., born in 1132; but this is an interpretation it is impossible to admit.

³ See Hardy's Preface to Malmesbury, p. ix. and note. The death of this writer is generally believed to have taken place in 1142 or 1143, but Mr. Wright, reasoning from the erroneous date he has

assigned to Geoffrey of Monmouth, supposes him to be living in 1147. *Biogr. Brit.* p. 137.

⁴ Of course I reject, as utterly untenable, the laboured Dissertation of Sharon Turner, to prove that Geoffrey's History was written to promote the political interests of Henry I., vol. iv. pp. 269—278. It is surprising indeed, to find a writer of eminence (Mr. Hallam) inclining to believe it "irrefragably demonstrated"! *Lit. of Europe*, vol. i. p. 128 note.

⁵ For the political reasons which influenced him to take this step, see Malmesbury, vol. i. p. 707, ed. Hardy.

the witnesses to Stephen's Great Charter of Liberties, granted at Oxford, in 1136,⁶ in company with the Bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Ely, Earl Ranulph of Chester, Milo of Gloucester (afterwards Earl of Hereford), and many other persons of note, several of whom afterwards abandoned the sovereign they now appeared to support. Early in the spring of the following year (1137) both Stephen and Robert crossed over to Normandy, and there the dislike of the King to his powerful adversary was manifested without disguise, once in a treacherous attempt to seize his person, and afterwards by private slander and injustice.⁷ While such a state of things continued (and it never ceased till the death of the Earl in 1147), it could not have been acceptable to either, to find his name associated with that of his enemy in the Dedication of a work destined to be so popular; nor would the author himself scarcely have ventured on such a step. Why Geoffrey thought proper to pay this double court to the King and Earl, can only now be guessed at; but although the private feud between them whilst in Normandy, might have been unknown to the writer, yet after Robert's open renunciation of his fealty, and the hostile steps taken immediately by Stephen against him, it would have been the height of imprudence to allow such a joint dedication to remain prefixed to the *Historia Britonum*. It may be conjectured therefore, that this joint Dedication was composed in the latter part of 1136, when Stephen's fortune appeared in the ascendant, but that subsequent events, and the expectation of Robert's arrival as the champion of Matilda, having determined the author to adhere to his original intention of addressing his work solely to the Earl of Gloucester, only one or two copies of the work, with the altered Dedication, were preserved, and from one of these the manuscript in the library at Berne may possibly have been transcribed. I have examined many copies of Geoffrey's History preserved in English libraries, but none earlier than the middle of the twelfth century, and therefore throwing no light on the original form of the work. If the copy sent over to

⁶ Ric. Hagustald, p. 314, and see Lapenberg's Norman History, p. 363, 8vo. 1857.

⁷ Malmesbury writes of Stephen's conduct, "Nunquam plenam ei [Roberto] exhibuit amicitiam, cujus semper sus-

pectam habuit potestatem. Coram Comitum pulchre jocundeque 'Comitem' illum appellans, retro maledicis verbis mordebat, et quibus poterat possessionibus vellicabat." Vol. i. p. 710.

Robert de Thorigni at the Abbey of Bec, before 1139, were still in existence (and there is no reason why it should not be), we might be enabled to speak with more certainty on the subject.⁸

F. MADDEN.

⁸ In a catalogue of the manuscripts belonging to the Abbey of Bec in the twelfth century (printed by Ravaisson, in his "Rapports sur les Bibliothèques des Départemens de l'Ouest," 8vo. 1841, p. 375), I find entered, "Item Historiarum de Regibus Majoris Britanniae, usque ad adventum Anglorum in insulam, libri xii. in quorum septimo continentur Prophetiae Merlini, non Silvestria, sed alterius, id est, Merlini Ambrosii;" but this copy must con-

sequently be later than 1147. In the same catalogue is a second copy of Geoffrey, "*Vita Alexandri et Historia Britonum*," given to the Abbey by Philippe de Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux from 1142 to 1163. In all probability, therefore, the copy shown by Robert de Thorigni to Henry of Huntingdon, was the private property of the former, and was taken away by him when he became Abbot of Mont St. Michel, in 1154.

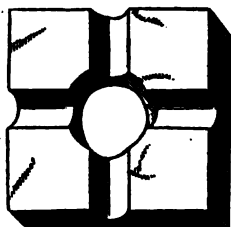
DISCOVERY OF AN ANCIENT CONDUIT AT ST. SIDWELL'S,
NEAR EXETER.

DURING the early part of the year 1858, the discovery was accidentally made of a very ancient conduit, for conveying water from some springs in the vicinity of Exeter to that city and to some of the ecclesiastical establishments there. The curious details of its construction appear well deserving of being placed on record, more especially since by an act of wanton Vandalism, which cannot be too severely reprobated, all vestiges of this unique *castellum aquæ* have been destroyed. The locality was named anciently "Hedwyllmede," and is situated in the parish of St. Sidwell, in the county of the city of Exeter, but without the walls of the city, and about half a mile from the east gate.

St. Sidwell, or St. Sativola, as she is called in all Latin documents, was patron saint of the church of the parish in which the sources are. The springs rise through a red sandstone rock; the most copious of them was conveyed into a leaden stand-pipe soldered into a large disc of lead ten feet in diameter, and more than three inches in thickness. This disc rested on a circular platform, measuring six feet four inches in diameter, constructed of two layers of red volcanic stones, probably from the Killerton quarries, every stone channelled on its under side, and placed in five concentric circles around the opening into the base of the stand-pipe, forming also six or eight radiated cross-channels. The stones were kept firmly in their places, and the disc of lead flat upon them, by a bed of clay six feet in depth, firmly puddled down, about twenty feet in diameter, and at a depth of rather more than twenty feet from the general surface of the adjacent ground. The purpose of the numerous little channels in the stone basement appears to have been for regulating the flow into the stand-pipe, as well as collecting the water on all sides.

A similar construction was formed, but with one layer of stone only, over a second less copious spring within the same bed of clay, and the water was conveyed by a leaden pipe

into the first mentioned stand-pipe. This pipe was soldered into a leaden disc five feet in diameter, resting upon a platform of stones of one layer only, each stone channelled on its under surface in like manner as has been already described. The centre stone only has been preserved; it has four channels, which open into the centre aperture, as shown in the annexed wood-cut.



Central stone of the small Platform, fig. O.

A somewhat similar arrangement, it may be remembered, was noticed at the Holy Well, Malvern Wells, by the late Rev. F. Dyson, and has been figured in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 83.

About twenty-five feet distant from the larger spring was a very ancient square well of stone, seven feet six inches deep (fig. H. in the diagram), built over a third spring, the water from which was conveyed by a leaden pipe (I.) through the puddled clay into the other source beneath the stone platform. This well was covered with heavy elm plank, and although on lower ground than that where the cistern stood, it was sufficiently above the base of the stand-pipe to permit the flow of the water, and appears to have been taken advantage of when the remarkable works above described were constructed. It was most probably this well which gave the name to the meadow, and was the scene of the martyrdom: the masonry appeared to be of very remote antiquity. At the top of the stand-pipe first described, was placed a cistern, enclosed in a small stone arched building, from which the water flowed to the conduits in the city originally, and until the year 1836. The annexed diagram shows a section of these curious works, and may serve to render this description intelligible. Under the largest stone platform, on the sand-rock, was found a brass coin of the Emperor Nero, in perfect preservation. The legend around the head on the obverse is as follows: IMP. NERO. CÆSAR. AUG. P. MAX. T. R. P. P. P.; reverse, a winged figure of Victory, VICTORIA AUGUSTI.

In making deep cuttings in January, 1858, for a railway in course of formation through the locality, the very curious constructions of the ancient works have been brought to light.

Mr. Dawson, an engineer resident at Exeter, was fortunately enabled to make plans and sections with accuracy, before the

whole of this extremely interesting conduit was most ruthlessly swept away by the railway contractors. We are indebted to him for the diagrams which accompany this notice.

St. Sativola is believed to have been a British lady of noble birth, born at Exeter, and contemporary with St. Winfrid or Boniface, of Crediton, in the middle of the eighth century. In the Martyrology of Exeter Cathedral, her festival is thus entered: "Augusti 2, In Britannia foras murum civitatis Exonie, Sancte Sative virginis et martyris." In Leland's Itinerary it is stated that her father's name was Benna, and that after his death she was beheaded by a mower (*fœniseca*) one of his servants, near a well in Hedwyllmede, at the instigation of her stepmother, who coveted her possessions.¹ She had a brother named Bana, and three devout sisters: St. Juthwara, who was killed by Bana, through the malicious counsels of her stepmother; St. Eadwara; and St. Wilgitha. The legend of St. Juthwara is given by Capgrave.

There are several notices in early documents of legacies to keep this well in repair; ² and mention occurs of the "Tumba Sancte Sative," in the adjacent church.

John de Doulys, by will, dated Tuesday after the Feast of St. Luke, 1267, left, for the repair and maintenance of St. Sidwell's Well, one acre, called Bromeacre, and half an acre called Stokisland, which latter was about forty-five feet from the well towards the north.

In the east window of the choir of the cathedral at Exeter, there is a painting of St. Sativola in a black dress; the aureole of martyrdom is seen around her head; in her left hand she holds a scythe, and at her right side is a well with a stream of water flowing from it.³

¹ Leland, Itin. vol. iii. fol. 34, 35; third Edition.—William of Worcester gives the following notice of this saint: "Sancta Sativola, virgo canonizata, jacet in ecclesia Sancti Volæ (sic) civitatis Exoniæ ultra pontem orientalem."—Itinerarium ed. Nasmyth, p. 91. See further in the History of Exeter, by the Rev. G. Oliver, D.D., p. 155.

² William Hodel, as stated by Dr. Oliver, bequeathed on March 7, 1399, monies for maintaining the lights, "ad tumbam Sancte Sative;" and Philip

Courtour, May 6, 1421, makes a bequest "instaurō tumbæ Sancte Sative."

³ Dr. Oliver, Hist. of Exeter, *ut supra*, observes that the scythe and well may be a rebus on her name. Sometimes she is represented holding her head in her left hand, as on the sculptured capitals in Exeter Cathedral, to show that she was beheaded; sometimes she holds a book. See the useful Manual of Emblems of Saints, by the Very Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, D.D.

The works lately destroyed were very probably constructed at the latter end of the twelfth century, or early in the thirteenth. In 1226, the well is mentioned in a document preserved in the Cartulary of St. Nicholas's Priory, Exeter fol. 139 : "Carta Serlonis, decani S. Petri de Exon. et capituli de tercia parte aque fontis Sancte Sativole ; teste Hylario Albo tunc majore Exon." &c. The fountain of St. Sativola was therefore evidently well known at that period ; Hilary White was mayor of Exeter 1226-27.

On the 3rd May, 1346, the Dean and Chapter conveyed the stream to an inclosed building in the Cathedral yard, from whence it branched into three channels : one for the use of the members of the Cathedral within the close ; one for the City ; and the third for St. Nicholas's Priory : the City and the Priory paying each eight shillings a-year to the Chapter for the water.

In the Chartulary of St. John's Hospital at Exeter, fol. 86, there is an extract from a book given to Richard Hylle, Prior of the said Hospital, by Roger Holande, Esq., A.D. 1498, and which had formerly belonged to Henry Lange, the procurator of the Hospital rents, as follows :—

"In Saynte Sydwyll is Paroche, ther as she was byhedded, ys a well, and the close that lyeth nexte aboff directely is called and named Hedwyllmede."

And subsequently the following passage occurs :—

"The Prior of St. John's and his Brothers haff moste grounde yn that Hylde or close, and they be bownde to repayre the wylle."

In the fabric Rolls of the Cathedral for the years 1419-20, is found a collection presented to the church by the mayor and citizens of Exeter, "pro emendatione piparum fontis Beati Petri Exon ;" and the same Rolls for 1437 and 1438 set forth a considerable expense for stones for the wall made at Longbrooke for the safe keeping of the pipes. The Longbrook was supplied by the waters drawn from the lands adjacent to the above named springs.

The water continued to flow from these springs to the localities indicated in 1226, until the total destruction of the above described curious works by the railway company in the early part of the year 1858.

In the year 1836, some improvements were carried out by forming a well of a larger capacity than the ancient cistern.

This well measured three feet six inches in diameter, and thirteen feet in depth ; the average depth of water in it being ten feet. The engineer does not appear, however, to have perforated the puddled clay as low as the leaden disc, but to have rested the new brick-work on an oak platform, three inches thick, placed on the clay about three feet above the leaden disc, that being a level which would supply more copiously his new pipes, and give by the size of the well a much larger body of water in the reservoir. The ancient stand-pipe which originally ascended into the cistern, and probably measured fifteen to eighteen feet in length, was cut off just above the oak platform. These recent constructions are more clearly to be understood by examining the accompanying diagram.

As there appears to have been no necessity for carrying the railway cutting immediately over these springs, it is much to be regretted that any body of speculators should have the power of wantonly destroying works which served to indicate a high degree of scientific knowledge at so remote a period as the twelfth or thirteenth century ; causing at the same time extreme inconvenience to those who enjoyed the use of the water supplied by this remarkable conduit.

CHARLES TUCKER.

EXPLANATION OF THE DIAGRAMS.

- A. A. Stone building over the well, 11 ft. 6 in. by 10 ft., its foundations resting on an oak platform. It was rebuilt, in 1836, on the original site.
- B. Brick well ; diameter 3 ft. 6 in., depth 13 ft.
- C. C. Puddled clay ; depth about 6 ft., 10 feet thick around the well, and resting on the red sand-stone rock.
- D. D. Circular disc of lead ; diameter 10 ft. ; into the centre of which a stand-pipe is soldered, conveying the water into the well : the disc rests on a platform of stones, in two layers, diameter 6 ft. 4 in., with radiating and concentric channels.
- E. Second spring, covered by a lead disc ; diameter 5 ft., with a pipe (F.) soldered into it, connecting it with the well (B). The disc rests on a platform of stone, of one layer, with channels on the under surface.
- G. Iron service-pipe, laid down in 1836, conveying the water to the Cathedral Yard.
- H. Ancient square stone well, depth 7 ft. 6 in., covered with elm plank.
- I. Pipe, connecting the well with the spring and well (B).
- K. Remaining portion of the original stand-pipe, cut off in 1836.
- L. The leaden disc, covering the principal spring, as shown in section at D. D.
- M. Platform of Broadclyst stone, laid in five concentric circles, in two layers, the stones channeled on their under surfaces. Upon this platform the leaden disc rests.
- N. Leaden disc, covering the smaller spring, and resting on a stone platform (O).
- P. P. Red sand-stone rock, from which the springs issue forth. A coin of Nero found here.
- Q. R. Level of the railway, constructed 1858.
- a. a. Position of the original cistern, destroyed in 1836.
- b. b. Ancient stand-pipe, ascending into the cistern.
- c. Original service-pipe conveying the water to the city, previously to 1836.

THE MONASTERIES OF SHROPSHIRE: THEIR ORIGIN AND
FOUNDERS. BUILDWAS ABBEY.¹

BY THE REV. R. W. EYTON, M.A

BELD, BIELD, or BELDE, a word signifying shelter, or a place of shelter, is probably of Anglo-Saxon origin, and cognate with the Saxon verb *Byldan* (to build).² The termination *was* is nothing else than the Saxon word *wæs* (water), whence came the Saxon verb *wæscan* (to wash).³ Buildwas, surrounded on three sides by an amphitheatre of hills, and bounded on the fourth by the River Severn, has therefore a name, which unchanging nature still stamps as appropriate.

The Shropshire Domesday describes the Manor of "Beldewes" as lying in Conodovre (Condover) Hundred, and says that the Bishop of Chester had held it in Saxon times, and still retained it at the period of the Survey. It was estimated at one hide, was held partly in demesne and partly cultivated by villains and serfs, whose dependent condition may further be gathered from mention of a resident Provost. The Manor contained a mill and some wood-land.⁴

Second in succession to Robert de Limesey (the Domesday Bishop of Chester) came Roger de Clinton, who, from the Archdeaconry of Buckingham (then in Lincoln Diocese), was elevated to this see, receiving consecration from the hands of Archbishop William Corbois, at Canterbury, on Sunday, September 22, 1129.⁵

¹ Communicated to the Historical Section, at the Meeting of the Institute in Shrewsbury, 1856. This Memoir completes the series of notices of the monasteries of Shropshire, for which the Institute was indebted to the kindness of the Historian of the county on that occasion. Mr. Eyton's Memoir on Lilleshall Abbey, will be found in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 228, and that on Haughmond Abbey, vol. xiii. p. 145.

² The word is still used in the North of England for a hovel. There also a cattle-shed is called a *beeding*. I have also seen the word significantly embodied in a proverb,—“The fox will not worry near his beeld.”

³ I find a good illustration of this etymology in Herefordshire. The River Wye, in its passage through that county, skirts the three *Vills* of Moccas, Sugwas, and Rotherwas.

⁴ Domesday, fo. 252, a. 2. “*Terra Episcopi de Cestre. Isdem Episcopus tenet Beldewes, et tenuit tempore Regis Edwardi. Ibi i hida, geldabilia. In dominio sunt ii carucas, et iii Villani cum Præposito habent iii carucas. Ibi v Servi et Molinum et Sylva oc porcis. T.R.E. valebat xlv solidos, et post xl solidos: modo xlv solidos.*”

⁵ Florence of Worcester, ii. 91.

Roger de Clinton was nephew of the elder Geoffrey de Clinton. The latter, at the time of which we speak, was holding high office in the court and kingdom of Henry I. : he was a Royal Treasurer and Chamberlain, a Justiciar commissioned to every part of the realm ; he also had the Shrievalty of Warwickshire in this very year, beside other farms, for which he was accountable to the crown. The nephew, who, although Archdeacon of Buckingham, was not ordained priest till the day previous to his consecration, was enthroned at Coventry shortly afterwards, by Simon, Bishop of Worcester. He is said to have purchased his bishoprick by a present of 3000 merks to the King.⁶ The pipe-roll of 1130 exhibits many tokens of royal favour to Geoffrey de Clinton, and more than one to the new bishop, but it in no way confirms this simoniacal story.

Roger de Clinton is said to have founded Buildwas Abbey in 1135,⁷ a date which becomes extremely probable from evidence presently to be cited. He is also said to have been Founder of Fairwell, a Benedictine Nunnery in Staffordshire. His evident interest in the prosperity of Kenilworth Priory may be attributed to his relationship with Geoffrey de Clinton its founder. A charter, which Roger de Clinton expedited to Shrewsbury Abbey, indicates a deep concern in the parochial condition of the diocese, and is in sympathy and verbal concert with similar charters of the cotemporary bishop of Hereford, perhaps the most exemplary prelate of his day.

Roger de Clinton has had various degrees of credit in regard of his contributions to the fabric of his Cathedral at Lichfield. The question between large improvement and entire reconstruction cannot be settled by existing evidence, for the present church contains little or nothing that can be assigned to his era. He increased the dignity of the collegiate body by the addition of eight prebendaries, endowed apparently out of the revenues of the See.

In 1139, Roger de Clinton was one of the five dignitaries elected to represent the English Church at the tenth General Council, which, under the auspices of Pope Innocent II., assembled in the Basilica of the Lateran on April 20 in that year.

⁶ Simeon Dunelm : col. 256.

⁷ Tanner, quoting the Annals of Parcolude.

Not one authentic instance can I find of this Bishop's having attended the courts of Henry I., Stephen, or the Empress. He joined the Crusade of 1147, and died at Antioch, on April 16, 1148.

The writer of the *Gesta Regis Stephani* supplies us with a very different estimate of the character and conduct of Roger de Clinton. Detailing the wretched state of England in the autumn (as I infer) of 1143, he makes severe remarks on the conduct of the bishops;—the cowardice and fickleness of some, the violence and rapacity of others. The latter he describes as girt with the sword, clad in splendid armour, fortifying and manning their castles, oppressing and spoiling their neighbours, riding forth in the same ranks with the fiercest agitators of the period;—the prime movers of enormities which they never attempted to palliate, except by charging them on their subordinates. "And," continues this chronicler, "that I may at present keep silence about others, for it is indecent to stigmatise all equally, public rumour hath denounced the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, and Chester as more eagerly bent upon such unholy pursuits than any others."

The individuals thus held up to infamy appear to be selected by this cotemporary writer, without the usual leaning which he exhibits to the cause of King Stephen. Henry of Winchester was the King's brother, and, though once his opponent, had been at a more recent period the main instrument of his restoration to the throne. There is some slight ground for supposing that Roger de Clinton was in turn associated with each of the political parties of his day; but a temporising spirit, which were venial in him, if a man of peace, was only servile treachery if combined with that love of cruelty and violence with which he is charged.

Summarily, the character of Roger de Clinton, Founder of Buildwas Abbey, is presented to us under contrasts which no ingenuity can reconcile. On the one hand we have the simoniacal occupant of a bishoprick, busy in fortifying the Castle of Lichfield, in surrounding the town with a rampart, in converting the peaceful tenants of a spiritual fief into tenants by military service; we have, in short, the picture of a ruffianly marauder and persecutor. On the other hand, we find him improving his Cathedral

by a costly outlay, increasing the number and dignity of its collegiate members, originating or stimulating other religious foundations: we read his charters warm with pious zeal and full of holy considerations; we see him representing Catholic England in the Councils of Christendom; lastly, we behold the Crusader devoting his energies and his life to a cause as hazardous as it was accounted holy.

We may gather from all this, not the specific truth which regards an individual, but a more general fact, viz., that the internecine war, which deluged this kingdom with crime and bloodshed, blotted also the records of the age with impenetrable falsehood.

From the man and his ambiguous character, we now pass to the date and circumstances of one of his undoubted works.

Among the various branches of the Benedictine Order, the Cistercian arose in A.D. 1098, when its first house was founded at Cîteaux, in Burgundy. It adopted a white habit in contradistinction to the black dress of the original Benedictines. It affected other reforms of usage, chiefly revivals of a more ancient rule. Its presumptive purity soon increased its influence, and other monasteries were founded on the pattern of Cîteaux. Amongst these was the Norman House of Savigny, originally a hermitage situated in the woods which terminated the southern frontier of the Diocese of Avranches. The probable date at which Savigny became a Cistercian Abbey, was A.D. 1112, but it soon established itself as the leader of a separate Order, called Savigniac or Tironensian, during the period of its independence, but which in 1147 was, with most of its affiliations, reunited to the Cistercian body. Meanwhile Savigny had two such affiliations in England, viz., Furness in Lancashire, and Buildwas.⁸ Furness, which for a time resisted all reunion with Cîteaux, had been founded in 1126 or 1127, or rather transferred to Furness in one of those years, after a previous sojourn at Tulket in Amunderness. Its founder was Stephen de Blois, then Earl of Boulogne, and afterwards King of England, whose Norman fief of Mortaine adjoined, if it did not comprise, the district in which Savigny was built.

⁸ Furness had also colonised Abbeys at Byland in Yorkshire, and Calder in Cumberland.

Buildwas, said to have been founded in 1135, was the second or third Savigniac house in England, but, when it became simply Cistercian, it lost this relative precedency.⁹

We have a transcript of Roger de Clinton's foundation-charter of Buildwas. Its inaccuracies, verbal and grammatical, are probably due to its transcribers. In other respects it has every appearance of being derived from some genuine original. I give the charter substantively as it stands in Dodsworth's MSS.¹

"Ego Rogerius Dei Gratiâ Cestrensis Episcopus, universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ² filiis, prelati et subditis, clericis et laicis, salutem. Jesu Xti Creatoris nostri monitis obsecundare cupientes, qui dixit, 'Thesaurizate vobis thesaurum in cælo, ubi neque erigo³ neque tinea demolitur, et fures non effodiunt neque furantur : '—hoc igitur intuitu, fratres carissimi, donamus, concedimus, et in fundamentum Abbatie confirmamus Deo et charissimo fratri nostro Abbati Ingenulfo et fratribus ejus, villam nostram de Buldewas cum omnibus pertinenciis, etc. Testes,—Laurentius Prior, et Conventus Coventrensis Ecclesiæ; Willielmus Decanus⁴; Ricardus Coventrensis, Radulfus Staffordensis, Rogerius Scropesburiensis, Rogerius Derbiensis⁵; Odo Thesaurarius, et Conventus Lichfeldensis⁶; Rodbertus Comes de * * *⁷; Rodbertus de Stafford; Gaufridus de Clintonia; Willielmus filius Alani; Philippus de Belmeis; Gulielmus de Clintonia; Gulielmus filius Nigelli; Brionisia; Rodbertus de Thorpe, et Helias et Gaufridus fratres ejus.

Ego Rogerius Dei Gratia Cestrensis Episcopus—

Ego Laurentius Prior Coventrensis Ecclesiæ—

Ego Willielmus Decanus Ecclesiæ Lichfeldensis—

Ego Willielmus Cestrensis Archidiaconus—

Ego Rogerius Derbiensis Archidiaconus—

Ego Rogerius Scropesburiensis Archidiaconus—

Ego Odo Thesaurarius Ecclesiæ—"

⁹ Combermere was Savigniac, and is said to have been founded in 1133.

¹ Vol. cx. (Bodl. Lib. Oxon.)

² Sic, for Ecclesie.

³ Sic, for erugo.

⁴ Viz., Lichfeldensis.

⁵ Supply "Archidiaconi" here.

⁶ That is, *Cupitulum Lichfeldense*.

⁷ The word written here is "Rokess."

There were only two English Earls during the era of Roger de Clinton who bore the name of Robert. They were of *Leicester* and *Gloucester*, two words which bear about an equal resemblance to the misnomer of the transcript. All other associations would make the Earl of Gloucester the most probable witness of this deed.

This Charter, appearing at first sight to be coeval with the actual gift which it implies, will, if 1135 were the date of the foundation of Buildwas, be construed to have been written in that year. Some internal evidence supports such a conclusion,—*e. g.* the first lay attestation, if rightly attributed to the Earl of Gloucester, indicates the presence of a person who can have attended no peaceful meeting, in company with the Bishop of Chester, after Easter, 1137. Nearly the same may be said of the Earl's son-in-law William fitz Alan, who early in 1138 was in arms for the Empress, and before the close of the year an exile,—never restored to his Shropshire estates till seven years after the death of Bishop Clinton. It is also quite certain from external evidence that the gift implied by this Charter took place before August, 1138, when King Stephen, occupied in the siege of Shrewsbury, confirmed it.

However, a diligent examination of the testing-clause of this Charter convinces me that it was not written at the time when the Bishop's grant was made, but some years later, and that the names which it embodies are of two classes, viz.,—first, some who were afterwards remembered by the Bishop to have been present when he gave Abbot Ingenulf formal seisin of Buildwas Manor, and secondly, some who, not having been then present, were afterwards witnesses and approvers of a Charter, written to record the conveyance and assure the Abbot's title.

Of the first class, as I take it, were the Earl of Gloucester, William fitz Alan, Philip de Belmeis, and perhaps other lay witnesses. Of the last class, were Ralph, Archdeacon of Stafford; Roger, Archdeacon of Derby (neither of whom were in office till after 1139); perhaps also Laurence, Prior of Coventry, and the other ecclesiastical witnesses.⁸

The gift of Buildwas Manor and the foundation of the Abbey belong, I doubt not, to the year 1135 or 1136; the written record to a period perhaps ten years later.⁹

⁸ Laurence, Prior of Coventry, has not yet been heard of earlier than 1144; and that gives him thirty-five years of office, for he lived till 1179.

⁹ I have been very particular on this matter of date. Monastic Charters constitute something like half of the historical evidences of that period. It is therefore of the greatest importance that

we should ascertain how these Charters passed, instead of seizing on their superficial inconsistencies, and presumptuously rejecting them as forgeries.

My estimate of Roger de Clinton's Charter to Buildwas is grounded on some general remarks of the late Mr. Stapleton in his notes to the *Rotuli Normanniae* (vol. i. p. lxxiv). Mr. Stapleton seems to

The next subject to be noticed is King Stephen's Charter to Buildwas, which, being already printed, I need not repeat here,¹ though I have one or two remarks to offer thereon. It confirms Bishop Roger's grant of the Manor as a grant made in the King's presence,—another proof that verbal and public concession was a mode of conveyance quite distinct from the written charter, for the Bishop's Charter has no appearance of having passed before the King.

The King's Charter also quotes the estimated hidage of Buildwas, and exempts the manor from all dues and obligations appertaining to the Crown. The hidage given is that of Domesday, and the privileges allowed by the usurper were afterwards respected by his lawful successors on the throne.

Again, the King speaks of the Abbey as Savigniac, and as dedicated to St. Chad. The latter was the Patron-Saint of Bishop Clinton's Cathedral at Lichfield, as well as of his Collegiate Church at Shrewsbury. When Buildwas became Cistercian, we should expect to find it following the unvarying rule of that order by associating the tutelage of the Virgin with that of its previous patron; but I shall presently show that this addition was made earlier, *i. e.*, while Buildwas was simply Savigniac. Earl Symon de Silvanecta, who attests Stephen's Charter, should perhaps be noticed as identical with Simon de St. Liz, Earl of Northampton.

The King's Charter is dated "*apud Salopesberiam in obsidione, anno Incarnationis Dominicæ mccccix, regni vero mei tertio.*" Here the Dominical year given is inconsistent with the regnal year, as well as with the historical fact; for no part of the third year of Stephen fell later than Christmas, 1138, and the Siege of Shrewsbury, which lasted a month, ended in a surrender between August 21 and August 28, 1138. This has been pointed out and commented upon before;² but the Charter involves another matter very pertinent to chronology and history. It is

me to have understood and valued this class of evidence better than any other antiquary.

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, edit. Cayley, vol. v. p. 356.

² *History of Shrewsbury* (Owen and

Blakeway), vol. i. p. 78 n. In all cases of inconsistent dating clauses which I have examined, I have found the Dominical year to be the least trustworthy element.

tested by Robert de Ferrars, whose services to Stephen are said to have procured him an Earldom in this very year.³ This Charter helps to prove his activity. He must have quitted the siege of Shrewsbury immediately, for he commanded the men of Derbyshire at the Battle of the Standard which was fought on Monday, August 22, 1138, and in that very week Shrewsbury surrendered to Stephen.

Milo de Gloucester, another witness of Stephen's Charter, was at the siege of Shrewsbury, but probably by no will of his own. Little more than a year after, he was apprised by the Earl of Gloucester of the Empress having landed at Arundel. Milo, obviously known to the Earl as a secret friend to her cause, at once became an open one.

Philip de Belmeis, the last witness of Stephen's Charter, should be noticed more particularly in connection with Buildwas Abbey, to which, after the King and Bishop, he was probably the next benefactor.

His grant of Ruckley to "Saint Mary and Saint Chad" of Bildewas, I have printed, from the original, elsewhere.⁴ The grantor acknowledges the reception of himself, his wife, and heirs into the fraternity of Buildwas, and of the Mother-Church of Savigny,—a proof that Buildwas, while simply Savigniac, adhered to so much of original Cistercian rule as to acknowledge the tutelage of the Virgin.

Belmeis's Charter passed about 1139, as I think, but more certainly before 1145, when he was enlisted in favour of another and very different foundation.

Another very early benefactor to Buildwas was the first William fitz Alan, who is known to have died about Easter 1160. He gave Little Buildwas, an outlying member of his great manor of Wroxeter, but only separated from the bishop's land by the River Severn. The charter conveying this grant is not known to be in existence, but it is expressly alluded to, and its contents distinctly enumerated and confirmed, by his son, in a deed which seems to have passed about 1175.⁵ Other grants by the founder are only known by subsequent confirmations, which shall be cited in their place.

³ J. Hagustald, p. 262.

⁴ *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. ii. p. 203. The original is in possession of

George Pritchard, Esq., of Broseley.

⁵ Printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 359, Num. xviii.

No chartulary of Buildwas is known to exist, but the deficiency may be supplied from the *Inspeximus* of Edward I., and other public and private documents.⁶

There is another story about the foundation of Buildwas Abbey, which, as it was adopted by Leland and indirectly strengthened by Dugdale, deserves some attention. Leland tells us that—"Matild de Bohun, wife to Ser Robert Burnelle, foundar of Bildevois Abbey (thowghe some, for the only gifte of the site of the howse, toke the Bysshope of Chester for founder), was buried in the presbitery at Dour."⁷

I am not aware who Matilda de Bohun, buried at Dore Abbey, may have been; but I presume that Leland's somewhat ambiguous sentence means to indicate Sir Robert Burnell as the founder of Buildwas, not his wife, as the editors of the *Monasticon* have concluded.

Dugdale, in his account of the Barony of Burnell, tells us of "an old Martyrologe (sometime belonging to the Abby of Buldewas) which plainly demonstrated the great antiquity" of that family.⁸ At the head of the succession, thus authenticated, stands Sir Robert Burnell, Knight, alleged to have died November 15, 1087, 20 Will. Conq. (where, by the way, we must read either 1086 or 1 Will. 2).

This Sir Robert Burnell must be the same as he whom Glover reveals to us as "a knight in the army which Earl Roger de Belesme brought over to this kingdom with William the Conqueror," and as dying in 1087, and being "buried at Buildwas in Salop."

We need not stop to identify that mythical personage, Earl Roger de Belesme, or the man buried at Buildwas nearly fifty years before it was founded, nor yet to criticise the two schemes of succession, by which Glover and Dugdale pass through a series of unheard-of Burnells till they arrive at a genuine Philip Burnell, who died in 10 Edw. I. (1282).

The truth I have already stated elsewhere,⁹ and now

⁶ I should particularly notice a series of Charters, edited by Mr. Hunter for the Camden Society, and printed in the volume entitled *Ecclesiastical Documents* (pp. 51—54). These Charters not only show that Buildwas, when it became subject to Cîteaux, remained still Savigniac, i.e., *mediately* subject to Savigny also; but they exhibit the whole ratio and working of this system of graduated

dependence, and how the Welsh Abbey of Basingwerk, and the Irish Abbey of Saint Mary, Dublin, were amenable to the control of Buildwas, as Buildwas was to Savigny, and Savigny to Cîteaux.

⁷ *Itinerary*, vol. viii. fo. 84 b.

⁸ *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 60.

⁹ *Antiquities of Shropshire*, vol. vi. p. 121, *et seq.*

repeat it. The Burnells were a family of moderate estate in Shopshire, heard of first in the reign of Henry II., and thenceforward, till, in the time of Henry III., the head of the house was outlawed for murder. His confiscated estates were in time repurchased by a relation, Robert Burnell, who, after various minor accessions of wealth and honour, became Bishop of Bath and Wells, Lord Chancellor of England, and the founder of a splendid barony. The æra of Burnell's chancellorship corresponded with the time when the first Statute of Mortmain dealt a heavy blow on Monastic interests. Alive to their prospective needs, the monks of Buildwas bethought themselves of an ingenious plan for propitiating their powerful neighbour at Acton Burnell. Under the shape of a Martyrology they concocted a genealogy of the Burnells, which (whether we take Glover's or Dugdale's version thereof) omits all accurate mention of every known progenitor of the race, and is specially silent about the outlaw.

The list commences with Sir Robert Burnell, who is made to die in 1087, and was adopted by the monks as founder.

It is mortifying to find Leland, Glover, and Dugdale, dupes of such an imposture; but the combination of credulity and self-deception which induced the monks of Buildwas to commemorate the deeds, pray for the souls, and perhaps point out the tombs, of men who never lived, never died, and never were buried, is simply ludicrous.

I now resume my account of Buildwas with the accession of Henry II.

On November 26, 1156, Richard, Abbot of Savigni, committed to Ranulf, Abbot of Billwas, the cure and disposition of the Savigniac house of St. Mary's, Dublin. In the next year the Flintshire house of Basingwerk was subjected to the same Abbot and his convent of Billewas, by a second ordinance of the Abbot and convent of Savigni.¹

The Staffordshire Pipe-Roll of 1157 excuses the monks of Buildwas their quota of the Danegeld, and of the donum, then assessed on that county. This refers to a previous acquisition of the monks. Gerold de Brelectun, a knight of the first William fitz Alan, had given them "the land of

¹ Eccles. Documents, pp. 51, 52.

Broctun." This estate was in the parish of Sheriff-Hales, and is still known at Brockton Grange.

In 1158 the monks of Buildwas are excused two sums of 2s. 4d. and 4s. 2d.,—their respective quota of the donum then collected in Staffordshire and Shropshire. In 1162 they are excused 2s. of the Danegeld of Staffordshire.

Between the years 1163 and 1166 King Henry II., being at Lichfield, issued a writ in favour of the monks of Buildwas, which requires some explanation, independently of its being inaccurately printed elsewhere.² A charge, called "*le cheshambre*," had in the time of Henry I. been payable by a certain district of Shropshire to the Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield. This due Bishop Peche (consecrated in April 1161) had recently made over to the monks of Buildwas, but the latter it seems were resisted in levying it. The King's writ orders the sheriff of Shropshire to enforce the monks' right by judicial process against the men of his Bailiwick. The writ is tested by Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

In 1174 King Henry II. is said to have subjected St. Mary's, Dublin, to Ranulf, Abbot of Buildwas.³ The date and circumstance are supported by a charter. The King's act was in effect a ratification of the previous arrangement of the chapter of Savigni.

In or about 1175 the second William fitz Alan expedited two charters to Buildwas Abbey, confirming two acts of his father relative to Little Buildwas and Brockton.

About the year 1177, Matthew, Abbot of Basingwerk, endeavoured to free both his own house and that of Dublin from subjection to Buildwas. He had appealed to Citeaux in the matter, but William, Abbot of Savigni, summoned both Abbots (Matthew of Basingwerk and Ranulf of Buildwas) to appear before the chapter of Savigni and plead the cause. They obeyed. The charters of Richard de Curci, Abbot of Savigni in 1156 and 1157, were produced, and settled the question. Abbot William of Savigni, in full chapter, ratified the ascendancy of Buildwas, and issued

² *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 358, No. xv. The original is in the British Museum (*Campbell*, vol. xxix. p. 6).

³ *Monast. Hibern.* (Archdall). If Arch-

dall's authority be the deed printed, *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 363, No. ii., the date is perhaps 1175.

injunctions of obedience accordingly, to Matthew, Abbot of Basingwerk, and to A., Abbot of Dublin.⁴

In 1182 we hear that Robert, Abbot of Buildwas, transferred the Seignury over the Irish Abbey of Dunbrothy to St. Mary's, Dublin.⁵ Harvey de Montemarisco had given Dunbrothy to Buildwas; but Alan, a monk of Buildwas, having gone over to inspect Dunbrothy, found it waste and desolate. Hence this prudent transfer.

On October 21, 1189, King Richard I., being at Winchester, granted a charter to Buildwas, acquitting the Abbot and his men of all obligation to pay toll (theloneum) and other dues, anywhere in his dominions.⁶ The next day (October 22) the King expedited a general charter of confirmation to Buildwas, which may be taken to recite all the previous acquisitions of the Abbey. It ascribes to Bishop Roger (de Clinton) the grants of the Manor of Bildewas, of Meola (Monk Meole); and of the "Chirchomber" assessable on the two hundreds of Wrockwardine and Condovery;⁷ also, the grant of one man, named Edric, in the territory of Lichfield. It ascribes to Bishop Richard (Peché) the grants of a messuage in the Förgate of Chester, and of 4s., receivable yearly out of the mill of Burne, near Lichfield. Then follow the grants of (Little) Buildwas, Brockton, Ruckley, Cosford, and Hatton. Walter fitz Heremann had given a moiety of Walton (in Staffordshire); Henry fitz Fulcher had given the land of Ivenbroc (in Derbyshire); and William de Caldene, the land of Caldene (in Staffordshire).

A more interesting piece of evidence is the confirmation of Bishop Hugh de Novant to Buildwas Abbey. It is dated at Bildewes itself, in the fifth year of the grantor's pontificate, and on Sunday in the feast of St. Cecilia, in the year 1192; that is to say, November 22, 1192. The witnesses are Hugh, Abbot of Shrewsbury, Robert, Abbot of Basingwerk, Richard, Abbot of Hagemon, Robert, Prior of Wenloc, William fitz Alan, Robert Corbet, Henry, Archdeacon of Stafford, Richard, Archdeacon of Salop, Master

⁴ Ecclesiastical Documents, pp. 52, 53.

⁵ Archdall (ut supra). I suspect either that the date 1182 is a mistake, or that the Abbot's name was Ranulph.

⁶ Rot. Cart. 20 Edw. I. No. 39.

⁷ This does not, I think, prove that the Domesday Hundred of Recordine

existed as a territorial division in Bishop Clinton's time (1129—1148). An ancient ecclesiastical due, like Chirchomber, would naturally be unchangeable as to the district on which it was assessable. It would not be influenced by secular changes of boundary.

Robert of Salop, Master Richard de Gnowsale, Master William Duredent, Master Henry de Bredeshale, Roger Corbet, William de Hedlehe, Stephen de Stanton, Richard de Lehton, Malcolumb de Harlehe, and Alan de Bildewes.⁶

The Charter professes the grantor's deference to the institutes of his predecessors, Bishops Roger, Walter, and Richard. It concedes to the Monks the place in which they are militant under the rule of St. Benedict, and under the Cistercian order. It also confirms the vill of Meole and those Burgesses of Salop which belonged to the Bishops of Lichfield, and the tenure near Lichfield which Edric formerly held, and four solidates in the mill of Burne, and half a *mansura* in the Forgate of Chester, which had been Herbert the Scrivener's, and the right to collect the corn called Chirchomber, which right the Bishop's predecessors were known to have themselves enjoyed, and to have conferred on the Monks, as appurtenant to the Manor of Bildewas and Meoles.¹ The Charter was corroborated by the seals and authority of the Bishop himself, his Chapter of Coventry,² and his Chapter of Lichfield.

In this same year (1192) we hear of another quarrel between the Houses of Buildwas and Basingwerk. The latter had renewed an attempt to withdraw itself and Dublin from the jurisdiction of Buildwas, and to subject both to the immediate control of Savigni. William, Abbot of Savigni, and the cotemporary Abbot of Clairvaux, sitting at Clairvaux in judgment, again decided that Basingwerk and Dublin were subject to Buildwas, as Daughters.³ This decision was recited and confirmed in the same year by William, Abbot of Citeaux, as head of all Cistercian houses, Savigniac or not.⁴

Within six years of this time A. (probably Arnold), a succeeding Abbot of Citeaux, confirms Buildwas in this superiority, citing the former acts of Richard de Curci and William de Tolosa when Abbots of Savigni. The testing-clause of this manifesto shows the enormous influence

⁶ Blakeway's MSS., from the Bridge-water Muniments.

¹ "Et collectionem bladi quæ appellatur Chirchomber, quam predecessores nostri habuisse et contulisse noscuntur, pertinentem ad Manerium de Bildewas et Meoles."

² A curious illustration of a well-known story, viz., Bishop Norant's expulsion of the Monks of Coventry, and substitution of Secular Canons in their room.

³ Blakeway's MSS.

⁴ Ecclesiastical Documents, pp. 53, 54.

of the Cistercian Order, congregating, as it did, to its General Chapter the Heads of its various Houses, whether situated in France, Normandy, Scotland, Wales, or Yorkshire.

On October 24, 1198, King Richard I., then at Roche Andeley, expedited a Charter whereby the Monks of Buildwas were entitled to hold all their lands, whether already obtained or thereafter to be obtained, free and quit of all waste and regard of the King's Forest.⁵

Soon after this, I think, H. (perhaps Huctred) Abbot of Buildwas, caused transcripts to be made of the Charters which proved the subjection of Basingwerk and Dublin to his House. These transcripts, verified by W., Abbot of Cumbe, W., Abbot of Miraval, and W., Abbot of Stanle (Stoneleigh), were forwarded over sea to W., Abbot of Citeaux, presiding over a Chapter of his Order.⁶

In Hilary Term, 1221, an unusual but curious subject occupied the attention of the Courts at Westminster. It was the expediency of altering a certain pass in the Royal Forest near to Buldewas, the spot having become notorious as a haunt of malefactors, and for the constant commission of crimes.

The History of Buildwas Abbey during the thirteenth century becomes somewhat obscure. The Hundred-Rolls of 1255 do not mention the Manor, obviously because it was extra-hundredal. The Abbot seems to have obtained a Charter from Edward I., dated September 14, 1290; this Charter does not remain on the Rolls, but we gather from another Record that it was, in part at least, an *Inspeximus* of one of Richard I.'s Charters. The Charter inspected was recited most fully in this instance, as far as privileges were concerned, and it seems doubtful whether it was not different to either of the three Charters of Richard I. already quoted. It allowed to the Church of St. Mary of Buldewas all the lands and tenements previously granted thereto, and that the monks should hold both those lands and all lands thereafter acquired, free and quit of geld, danegeld, scutage, fines for murder and larceny,

⁵ Forest Roll, Salop, No. vi.

⁶ Ecclesiastical Documents, p. 54. A very similar certificate and transmission of certain Charters of Tintern Abbey

appears in a document, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 426, No. ii. It was evidently a form usual among the Dependencies of Citeaux.

also of hidage, of shires and hundreds (that is the suit thereof), of military services (*exercitibus*), of summonses, sheriffs' aids, and all other aids; also free of any amercement set upon the county or hundred, of toll, of passage, and of pontage belonging to the King, of all work at castles, bridges, fish-ponds, walls, or parks, of fencings (*clausuris*), of pleas, complaints, and all other customs, of all secular service, exaction, and servile work.⁷ Such were the privileges coveted by, and congenial to, the peaceful and even indolent genius of the Cistercians. The Charter explains the comparative obscurity in which the internal affairs of Buildwas Abbey are buried.

The Taxation of 1291 gives us the first general statement of the possessions of this house. In Hereford diocese it derived from Kynnerton, Wentnor, Ragdon, and Hope-Bowdler an income of 6*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* from lands and rents, and 9*l.* 10*d.* from live-stock.⁸ In Lichfield Diocese, and Stafford Archdeaconry, it had, from Walton, Brockton, and Cud-desdon, an income of 21*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* Its gross income from places in the Archdeaconry of Salop was 76*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* Its total temporalities, that is, excluding Churches, Tithes, &c., may therefore be put at 113*l.* 19*s.* 5*d.* per annum. Of this sum Buildwas Grange, that is the Abbey Manor (not including Little Buildwas), yielded 15*l.*, or 4*l.* 10*s.* on six carucates of land and 10*l.* 10*s.* on live-stock.

On February 6, 1292, Edward I.'s ample *Inspeximus* of Buildwas Charters passed the Great Seal.⁹

In 1301 the old disputes about the supremacy over Dublin were revived. The Abbot of Savigni now claimed the honour against Buildwas; but a General Chapter, presided over by John, Abbot of Citeaux, and sitting at Citeaux, decided once more for Buildwas. William de Ashburne, who on this occasion acted as proctor for Buildwas, was a monk of the house, but afterwards became Abbot of Dublin.

The existing Abbot of Dublin was Roger de Brugor, who also had been a monk of Buildwas, and who died in 1309.¹

I should here observe that the Diocesan Registers of

⁷ *Placita de Quo Waranto*, p. 145.

⁸ *Pope Nich. Taxation*, pp. 163, 253, 260.

⁹ *Rot. Cart.* 20 Edw. I., Nos. 39, 40, 41.

¹ *Blakeway's MSS.*

Lichfield do not afford the slightest evidence that the Bishops of that See retained any right of patronage over Buildwas Abbey. A letter of Bishop Roger de Northburgh to the Abbot of Buildwas, dated at Eccleshall on January 14, 1324-5, not only precludes all idea of friendly intercourse, but is a philippic of no ordinary violence. The Bishop had been commissioned by the Pope to collect the biennial tenth, last accruing to the Apostolic See. The Abbot had pertinaciously, the Bishop says insolently, neglected to pay his quota. After plentiful abuse the Bishop threatens to proceed to the publication of censures (meaning excommunication) against the Abbot, in such churches and places as he shall deem expedient, unless the Abbot pay before the 2nd of February.²

In 1342, John, Abbot of Buildwas, attending a general Chapter at Citeaux, confirmed to St. Mary's Dublin a supremacy over the Abbey of Dunbrothy.³

I now pass to the Valor of Henry VIII., in whose seventh year (1535-6), Stephen, then Abbot of Byldwas, declared the revenues of his house to be as follows :—

Byldwas itself, that is the Abbey Manor, yielded 20*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*;—the land being partly in hand and partly let to tenants. Little-Byldwas yielded 18*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* Other Shropshire manors and estates yielded 64*l.* 13*s.* 10*d.* From Derbyshire came 6*l.*, from Staffordshire 9*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* The tithes receivable from Leighton and Hatton were 6*l.* The Abbot of Lilleshall paid a fee-farm rent of 4*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* for certain land at Longdon upon Tern. The Manor-Court (of Buildwas I presume) yielded 5*s.* The total temporalities and spiritualities of Buildwas Abbey were therefore 129*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* The outgoings on this income were put at 18*l.* 7*s.* 6½*d.*, leaving a net balance of 110*l.* 19*s.* 3½*d.*⁴

The Ministers' Accounts of 1536-7 estimate the gross income of the then dissolved Abbey of Byldewas, at about 30*l.* more than the Valor. The excess was chiefly in the valuation put upon the receipts from Great and Little Buildwas, which, instead of 39*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* per annum, were increased to 61*l.* 16*s.* 1*d.*; but the site of the Monastery was an item in the later calculation. Also, the Rectory,

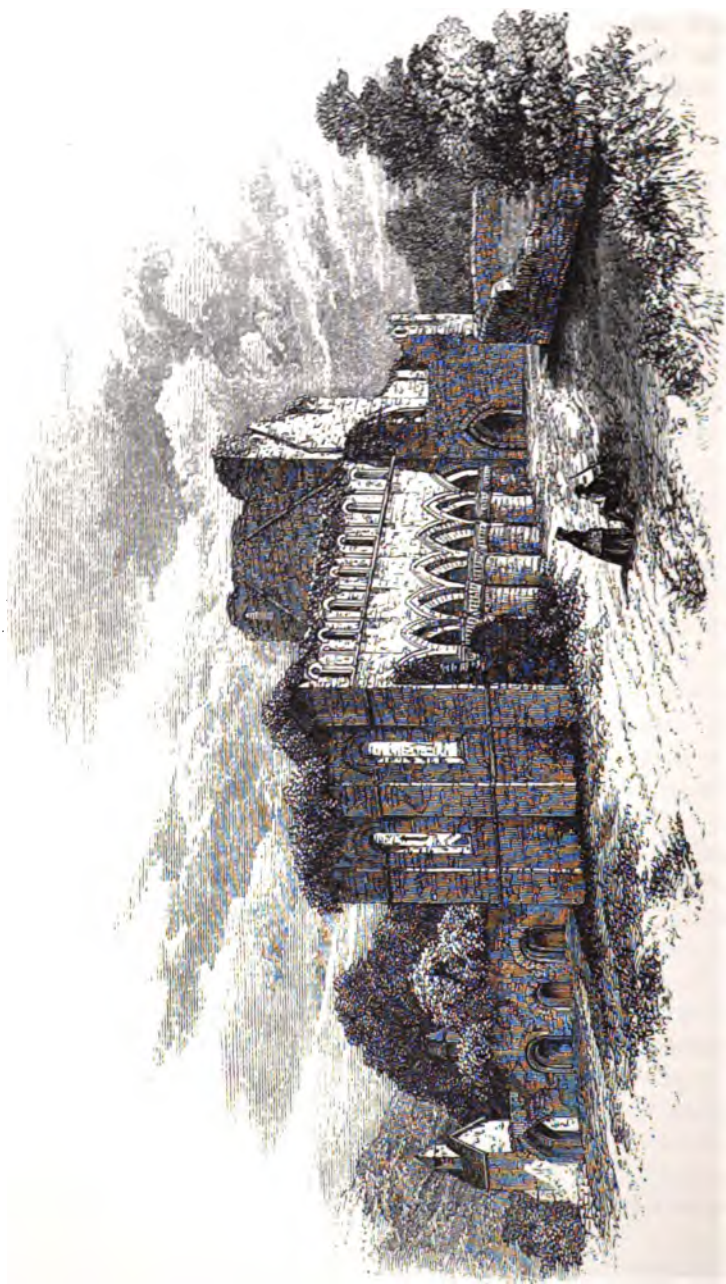
² Register Northburgh, C. fo. 16, b.

³ Archdall (ut supra).

⁴ Valor Ecclesiasticus, vol. iii. p. 191, 192.

or Rectorial tithes of Buildwas were now reckoned as 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, an item which does not appear in the Valor.⁵ In the following year, the King granted the site of the Abbey, with its possessions in Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire, to Edward Grey, Lord Powis.

⁵ *Monasticon*, vol. v. p. 361.



Buildwas Abbey Church, Shropshire. From a Drawing by the Rev. John Louis Petit.

ARCHITECTURAL NOTICES OF THE CONVENTUAL CHURCH OF
BUILDWAS ABBEY, SHROPSHIRE.

BY THE REV. JOHN LOUIS PETIT, M.A., F.S.A.

WHATEVER style of Mediæval architecture we may prefer on the score of beauty or grandeur, we shall, I think, readily admit the peculiar interest of that period when the Gothic was beginning sensibly to develope itself. And this transitional period, which we may set down as comprising the latter half of the twelfth century, was particularly rich in ecclesiastical buildings, both in England and on the Continent, so that there are few localities in Western Europe where the features indicative of the great change may not easily be studied. The county of Shropshire has its full share of fine examples. The Abbeys of Wenlock, Lilleshall, Haghmond, and the White Ladies, near Boscobel, and the churches of Shiffnal, Wrockwardine, Morvill, Quatford, Edstaston, near Wem, Shawbury, Wistanston, Cundover, with many others, afford beautiful specimens. I have selected the Abbey of Buildwas as being the most extensive and the most perfect. The remains of the church, which are very considerable, present, with the exception of the sedilia, nothing so far advanced as the Early English; the whole evidently belongs to that half century of which I have spoken, the latter half of the twelfth. Yet even during this period there have been, as I shall presently show, some alterations in the original work. And a large portion of the monastic buildings, which have received little or no insertion, appertain to the same period.

Before we proceed further, it will be as well to assign to this and similar buildings their true position and character. The Mediæval styles may be said to have been always in a transitional state. In England and Normandy, a tendency to Gothic showed itself for near a century and a half before the style itself was fully established. The purest Norman is

¹ This Memoir was read in the Architectural Section, at the Meeting of the Institute at Shrewsbury.

not free from this tendency. Its clustered columns, and the tall slender engaged shafts that run up, in face of the pier and wall above it, to the springs of the vaulting arches, or the brackets of the wooden roof, indicate the presence of that principle which was afterwards so variously and beautifully developed. Though the introduction of the pointed arch took place, I believe, later in England and Normandy than in some other parts of Western Europe, yet, when it did appear in these countries, its influence was much more rapid than elsewhere, in giving completeness and unity to the Gothic system.

From the Conquest to the end of the twelfth century we may observe, in our own country, at least four phases of Norman architecture.

First,—That before the end of the eleventh century. Of this we have not many examples remaining. The best known are the transepts of Winchester, a small part of Ely, and a portion of the west front of Lincoln Minster. Much of St. Alban's would also be of this date ; and probably other cathedrals, originally built soon after the Conquest, retain parts of the original structure. One chief characteristic of this period is the wide-jointed masonry ; and when it occurs in large and carefully built edifices, it may be looked upon as a criterion of date, but not in smaller or less costly churches. The style is one of much simplicity, the ornaments bold and effective, though somewhat rude, and the composition grand and massive.

The second phase is the architecture of the reign of Henry I., in which the work is executed with greater care and precision, while none of the massive grandeur of the earlier buildings is lost. Even where much ornament is used, an air of simplicity pervades the whole, and this will always be pronounced to be the age of the finest and purest Norman. The naves of Tewkesbury and Gloucester, much of Norwich, Peterborough, Ely, Southwell, Wymondham in Norfolk, Romsey, Chichester, Durham, are of this character, which in fact may be looked for in most of those cathedrals that were commenced shortly after the Conquest, and have been partially, but not wholly, Gothicised. For the choir, which was first built, was also the first part to be renewed in the more enriched style, consequently the work of the eleventh century has often disappeared, while that of the early part of the twelfth

remains. A marked difference is observable in the early part of the reign of Henry II., which we may consider as the commencement of a third phase of Norman. It is not easy to state in what the difference consists, though the practised eye will detect it. Sometimes it appears in mouldings of greater intricacy and less power, of which an example may be seen in the west end of Buildwas, where we have a kind of network ornament occupying both the face and soffit of one of the orders of an arch, which must have been more difficult either to design or execute, than it is even to draw, and that is no easy matter. It has not nearly the effect, either as regards richness or grandeur, that is produced by the far less elaborate cuttings of earlier work. In the simpler work too we often detect a certain degree of feebleness, perhaps arising from an increased desire of high finish, as compared with the vigour of the early Norman. In some buildings the pointed arch is used freely, in others the round arch is retained, but the number of mouldings is much increased. It has often struck me, in buildings containing both pointed and round arches, that the pointed have ornaments inclining to the Norman character, while the mouldings of the round approach to those used in an advanced stage of Gothic.

Steyning Church, in Sussex, presents a good example of the late Norman; the pier-arches of the nave are still semicircular, but their enrichment, in number and variety of mouldings, may compare with the richest Gothic.

After this, towards the end of the reign of Henry II., and to the close of the century, we find what is strictly called the transitional style, having pretty nearly in equal parts the Norman and the Gothic element. In this the arches are mostly pointed, though occasionally the round arch occurs where its use is dictated by convenience, as in the presbytery of Chichester, which is a fine specimen of the style. The mouldings are still generally arranged in such groups as to give each order of the arch a certain squareness of section, and the square abacus is used. The shaft is common, and has a capital of foliage, which affords an admirable instance of conventional treatment, as indicating the flexibility of the leaf or plant, while the stiffness necessary to give it architectural character is retained. This sort of capital, of which there are specimens at Buildwas, though the shafts them-

selves have disappeared, prevails through the whole of the transitional period, and in France is extremely common, where the pointed style, through the whole of the thirteenth century, the Epoch of our Early English, is very similar to our own transition. The choir of Canterbury is our finest example of the transitional style, but it evidently shows its Continental origin.

The capital we have noticed, is very difficult to draw, especially when the stone in which it is executed becomes decayed, as the sketcher is tempted to produce a closer imitation of the real or supposed natural type, and this goes far to weaken the architectural character. Photography affords the best means of dealing with such subjects. And here I would make a remark upon sculpture as applied to architectural decoration. It is applied in two ways, one as a mere embellishment, having little or no reference to the constructive features, but simply occupying a suitable position, just as a picture hung up against a wall. Such are the statues in niches, and reliefs upon flat surfaces; and through certain arrangements of their general lines may be desirable, for the sake both of the work of the architect and of the sculptor, yet there is no reason why nature should not be faithfully represented, or why any of the ordinary rules of art should be abandoned. The statue or the relief may be treated as works of high art, and no deviations from nature allowed, but such as may be suggested by the point of view. So when a wreath of flowers is used as an ornament, as common in the Italian style, these should be perfectly true and natural; they take no part in the construction, and there is no reason why they should not have as much freedom and flexibility as the material will admit. But when an important and essential member of construction is sculptured, care must be taken to preserve its character as an architectural feature. The corbel, though carved into a human head, or the capital, into a bunch of foliage, must still retain that stony rigidity which fits it for the support of the weight above. The natural type must not be so followed up as to confuse or conceal the reality; we must not be presented with a cluster of leaves and flowers, where we want a solid block of stone. The stone may be made to remind us of flowers, or leaves, or any other beautiful or pleasing object; and to do this

with judgment is the great art of the architectural sculptor. I think the perfection of it, in the one article of the foliated capital, is to be found in the transitional period. The Early English capitals are extremely good, but often a little too flowing and overhanging. In the fourteenth century the imitations of nature became too close, and the conventional treatment in great part abandoned.

The remains under our present consideration, those of Buildwas Abbey, belong for the most part to what may be called the third epoch of Norman Architecture, namely, that which prevailed early in the reign of Henry II. ; and they retain on the whole more of the purity and grandeur of the older Norman than a great number of specimens of the same period. In describing the edifice, I will point out a few of the marks which enable us to form a conjecture as to the date.

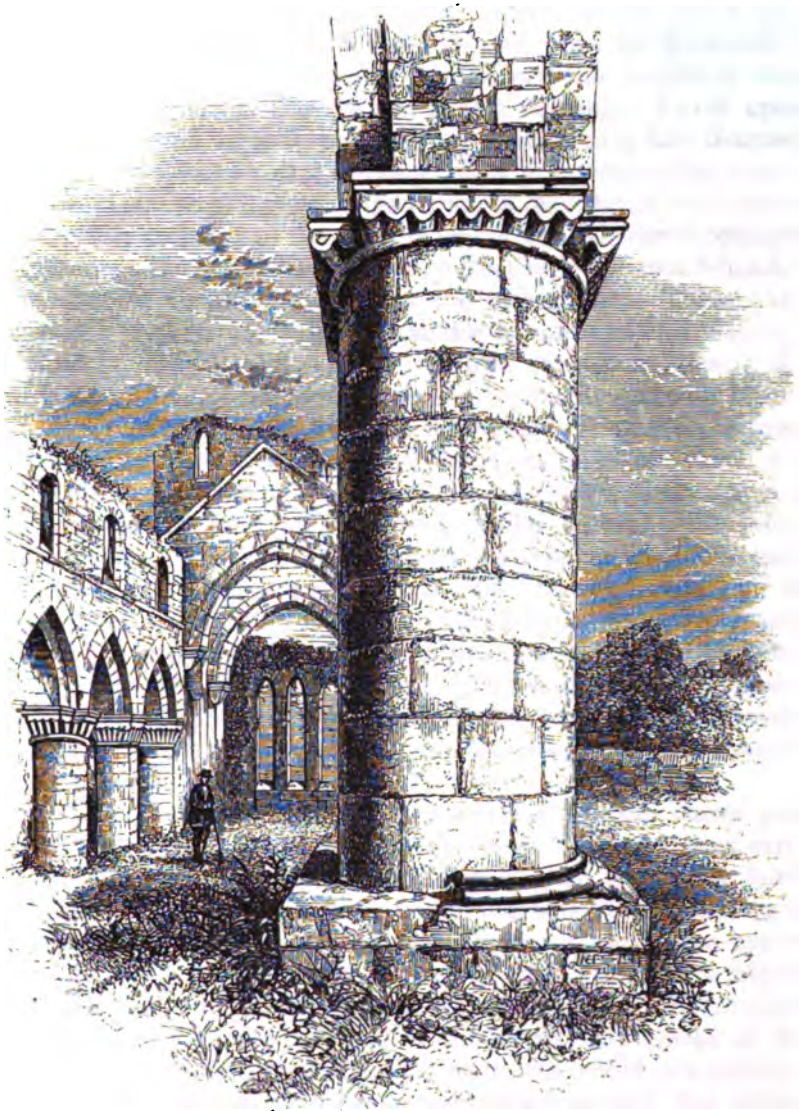
The church consists of a nave, central tower, choir or chancel, and a north and south transept, each with two eastern chapels. These, as well as the chancel, are square in their eastern termination, instead of being apsidal, the more usual form at the earlier period. The walls of the aisles are altogether destroyed, as well as the greater part of the transepts, still it is not difficult to form a probable conjecture as regards the appearance of the building before it fell into ruin. The face of the south transept still exhibits part of a flat buttress, which bisected it, as is the case with the west-front ; and the western compartment has a doorway, the upper part of which has been demolished. The pitch of the gable is marked clearly enough on the wall of the tower. There is a staircase in the south-east angle of the transept, and a corresponding one in the tower, which, from the look of the masonry, I think had a very slight projection, but I cannot ascertain this unless by a close examination.

As there is an opening in the wall of the tower below the weather moulding, I conclude that the passage was carried between the outer and inner roof. The upper part of the clerestory wall, above the windows, has disappeared ; but there are remains of a corbel table on the north side, which was doubtless continued round the whole. The wall of the aisles were most likely divided into bays by pilaster buttresses, corresponding with those of the clerestory, and

pierced with round-headed windows, the corbel table finishing the whole. As there is no western doorway, I consider it probable that one may have existed in the most usual position, namely, the second bay from the west end. If there are any remains of a porch, they are now under ground.

The nave has seven bays, divided by massive columnar piers: the pair nearest the tower, octagonal; the rest, circular. The capitals are of a description common in the late Norman, and the abacus is square, with re-entering angles, so as to be adapted to the reception of an arch of two orders. In the earlier Norman the large columnar pier has usually a round abacus; this is the case at Tewkesbury, Gloucester, and Southwell. The orders of the arches are plain and square, and the arches themselves pointed, but so slightly, that their real shape will hardly be detected from a distance. The bases of these piers have not the boldness of the earlier Norman; and they have this remarkable peculiarity, that they only comprise half the circumference of the column; namely, that facing the aisles; the other half, facing the central passage of the nave, being brought down to the square slab or plinth on which it rests, without any base moulding whatever. From this we may infer that some sort of screen, or range of stalls, extended the whole length of the nave, concealing the lower part of the columns. Those nearest the tower have a face of broken masonry towards the nave; probably here the screen was of stonework.

The inner order of each of the transverse tower arches rests on brackets, so as to make the piers range with those of the nave and with the walls of the choir; leaving an uninterrupted space, the whole length of the church, for ritual arrangements. And we observe here the practice which has been often noticed before, of disposing the ornament so as to meet the view of the spectator looking eastward. For both the eastern and western arches have, on their western faces, three orders and a label; and on their eastern faces, only two orders, without any label. The northern and southern arches, which have two orders, have a label on their face, which is seen by a person standing within the area of the tower; those towards the transepts being destitute of this ornament. The orders are square, and the arches slightly pointed.



Buildwas Abbey Church, Shropshire. Pier of the Nave, looking from the East.
From a drawing by the Rev. J. L. Petit.

At an earlier period of the Norman style, a conventional church of the magnitude and importance of the one under consideration, would scarcely have been without that important feature, the triforium. Here indeed the height of the building would not admit one; but at Kirkstall, a structure of about the same date, where the height is considerably greater, this feature is also wanting. I look upon this omission, in such buildings, as a mark of a late Norman style. I should notice, however, that in Germany the case is reversed, the older buildings having a plain blank wall above the pier arches, and those approaching the thirteenth century, a large triforium. The clerestory has a range of round-headed windows, corresponding with the pier-arches. These have been enriched internally with shafts, having a capital of foliage and square abacus. These windows show more clearly the lateness of the style than even the pointed arches below. As we have observed, there is no western door, and the front is divided by a flat buttress, on each side of which is a round-headed window, enriched externally with rather a complicated kind of ornament, which betokens the latest Norman. Neither the nave or aisles appear to have been vaulted. The chapels east of the transept are, as at Kirkstall, separated from each other by a wall. They have each a cross vaulting, with plain diagonal ribs, springing from brackets at the corners. The vaulting of the chapels at Vale Crucis are treated in a somewhat similar manner. Under the north bay of the north transept, and its chapels, is a crypt.

The choir, or chancel, is in all probability the oldest part of the building, but has received alterations at a very early period, that is, before the Early English style had fairly established itself. For we see brackets, and the springs of vaulting ribs, of a transitional character, and these are so placed as to bring the crown of the vault to a higher level than the top of the wall of the nave. I endeavoured to discover, in the east wall of the tower, any marks of the chancel being higher than the nave, but could not perceive any; the weather-moulding corresponding with the others, and the ashlar masonry of the tower above it being clear and smooth up to the angles. There is, however, a mark as of a principal longitudinal vault; but the arches of the cells must have been very flat, if ever completed. I am inclined

to think that the brackets were inserted, and the ribs commenced, before the necessary addition was made to the height of the walls, and the work for some reason discontinued.

We may perceive very plainly an alteration of the east end, which now contains a triplet of lofty round-headed windows ; but had them originally in two tiers. The intermediate portions of the wall have been cut away, so as to bring two windows into one. The labels of the lower windows are still visible. A window on the south side has also been lengthened, the string below it being cut through for the purpose. On the north side the original window remains untouched. Now, I suspect that this alteration was an early one ; for had it taken place during the later styles, there would probably have been other indications of late work about the church, and I cannot find any such. Had it taken place in the thirteenth century, or at any succeeding period during the prevalence of Gothic architecture, I think more would have been done ; the windows would have been wholly remodelled ; their arches pointed, and shafts introduced. As they now stand, they are very characteristic of the period when the vertical line began to assume that prominence which subsequently gave its life and spirit to the Gothic style. We find similar windows in the nave and transept of Brinkburn Abbey, in Northumberland, and in Llantony, in Monmouthshire. The sedilia, a triplet of pointed arches, are evidently inserted ; they are pure Early English.

The abbey buildings stand to the north of the church. The most important is the chapter-house, which ranges with the north transept. It is oblong, according to the type which was most usual before the Early-English octagonal chapter-houses were introduced. The front, as in the beautiful specimen at Haghmond, has a round-headed door, with an arch of the same form on each side ; all enriched with Norman ornaments. The room itself has a vaulting in nine compartments, supported by four rather slender columns, two of them cylindrical, the other two octagonal. At first sight this would appear to be a decidedly Early English composition, as even the square abacus is not used except in the angles. The vaulted ribs that run from north to south (the narrowest dimension), are pointed ; those from east to west, round : they have bold mouldings. But when we

examine these, we find that they are not strictly Early English, though, if we met with them in France, we might pronounce them to belong to the thirteenth century. One would almost question whether they are of the same date with the front and walls of the chapter-house; for at Kirkstall, a building on the whole of a more advanced character than Buildwas, the columns and vaultings of the chapter-house come much nearer to a pure Norman style. I do not, however, find marks of insertion, and possibly this interior belongs to the original design, the Norman arches being employed in the front, as conformable with similar buildings of the period.

The nave of the church and the range in which the chapter-house stands, formed, we may suppose, two sides of a square occupied by cloisters. Unless I am much mistaken, I have a recollection of an arch standing by itself at no great distance from the west end of the church, which might have been an entrance into the cloister. All traces of it have now disappeared.

The present farm-house was probably built from the monastic remains, and has doubtless much confused the general plan; there are, however, a few more fragments still remaining, principally of the transitional style. The length of the church internally is about 162 ft., of which the nave is 105 ft. The width of the chancel, and of the nave, from pier to pier, is $26\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The distance between the piers of the nave is $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft.; but the westernmost arch is somewhat larger than the others. The girth of each columnar pier is 14 ft., which gives as its diameter upwards of $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft.; this seems also to be generally the thickness of the walls. The total width of nave and aisles internally, is about 50 ft. The transverse length, at the transepts, 82 ft. The chapter-house is 41 ft. by $31\frac{1}{2}$ ft.

In beauty of situation, this ruin is not surpassed by any of those, which the artist, as well as the antiquary, loves to visit. It stands on the bank of the Severn, a little above the spot where its valley is narrowed between the steep and almost precipitous slopes, which are connected by the celebrated iron bridge of Coalbrook Dale. The monastic buildings lie between the church and the river; on the south side of the church the ground rises rapidly, and at a short distance forms a bold and varied outline of hills,

mostly covered with wood. On the opposite side of the river the bank is still more abrupt, and rises in irregular ridges, to the foot of the Wrekin, which towers boldly over the landscape.

It is many years now since I first became acquainted with this beautiful spot ; I have often and often revisited it, and I may say that I have never done so without increased interest and pleasure.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the constant kindness of the Author of the foregoing Memoir, by whom the Illustrations, executed from his own drawings, have been liberally contributed.

EXAMPLES OF MEDIÆVAL SEALS.

IN the Notices of Mediæval Seals which have appeared from time to time in this Journal, it has been our endeavour to supply a series of illustrations of Sphragistic Art, selected almost exclusively from the mass of valuable examples connected with our own country, and brought under our notice through the Meetings of the Institute. We are encouraged to continue these contributions to the history of seals, by the assurance that the examples given in our previous memoirs, and chosen either on account of their historical value or their artistic interest, have proved highly acceptable to many readers of the Journal.

In availing ourselves of the communication of one of the most interesting matrices of seals existing in Continental museums, and for which we are chiefly indebted to the kindness of the learned President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zürich, Dr. Ferdinand Keller, it might seem needless to advert to the value of an extended comparison between English seals and those of foreign countries, were it not to invite attention to that higher appreciation of Mediæval seals which appears to prevail on the Continent, as compared with the limited notice hitherto bestowed upon the subject in our own country. The monographs illustrative of the Municipal and other seals of Switzerland, produced in the Transactions of the Antiquaries of Zürich, may here claim special notice amongst contributions to this section of archæological literature which have recently appeared in foreign parts.¹ These memoirs display an extensive series of seals, represented with a degree of artistic skill and precision rarely equalled in England. Many valuable examples have also been published in Switzerland in the "Armorial

¹ Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, 1841—58. The Memoirs relating to seals will be found in vols. ix. and xiii. Any portion of this valuable assemblage of archæological information, in every branch of research, may be obtained through Messrs. Williams and Norgate, or other booksellers. We

cannot omit to call the attention of the student of seals to the proposed publication, by subscription, at a most moderate cost, of a coloured fac-simile of the remarkable Roll of Arms of the Sovereigns and principal States of Europe, date about 1350. It will comprise not less than 578 coats.

Genevois," by M. Blavignac. In France, several admirably illustrated memoirs have appeared in the "*Annales*," edited by M. Didron, and a mass of curious information has been placed on record in the "*Travaux de la Société de Sphragistique de Paris*," of which the fifth volume is in progress. We may here also invite the notice of our readers to the "*Essai sur les Sceaux des Comtes de Champagne*," by M. de Jubainville, the "*Notice sur les Sceaux des Comtes de Louvain et des Ducs de Brabant*," by M. De Ram, with other results of the increasing interest with which the investigation of Mædieval seals has recently been prosecuted in various countries of Europe. No production, however, of this class has surpassed the volumes published by Vossberg, especially his collections on the seals of Poland, Lithuania, Silesia, Pomerania, and Prussia, or the commencement of a valuable work by the late eminent archæologist of Vienna, Eduard Melly.²

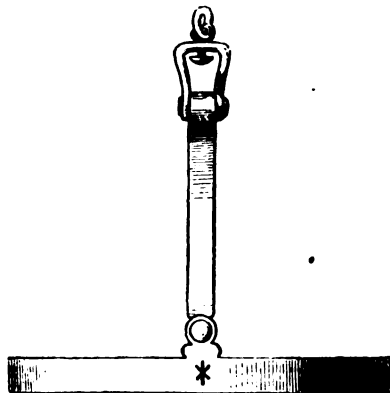
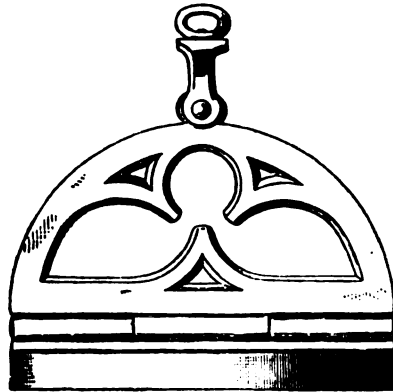
We may here mention with satisfaction, that, whilst in our own country no extensive collection of seals affords the facilities desirable for purposes of general reference and instruction, either at the British Museum or any other public depository, the liberal permission granted to Mr. R. Ready, especially by the authorities of our collegiate institutions, has brought within reach an invaluable assemblage of materials exemplifying the progress of the Sphragistic art in England. The facilities kindly afforded to that skilful artificer in several muniment chambers at Cambridge have been followed, as we learn with pleasure, by similar privileges at Oxford. We would record the thankful acknowledgment of the benefits which accrue to archæological science from such commendable liberality. It may be acceptable to some readers to learn, that Mr. Ready's most recent acquisition, through the kind favour of the Warden and Fellows of New College, and of the Rev. J. E. Sewell, the Bursar, comprises nearly 800 examples, among which will be found royal, personal, and official seals, of the highest interest and perfect in preservation.³

² Vossberg, *Siegel des Mittelalters*, &c., twenty-five plates, Berlin, 1854, 4to. *Beiträge zur Siegelkunde des Mittelalters*, von D. Eduard Melly. Part i. Vienna, 1850, 4to.

³ Mr. Robert Ready, whose skilful reproductions in gutta-percha, and sulphur,

are now generally known, and also his electrotyped matrices, will supply any of the seals above mentioned, as well as some remarkable examples from Merton College. He is now resident in the High-street, Lowestoft.

EXAMPLES OF MEDIEVAL SEALS.



Seal of Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy.

Date about 1452. (Original Size.)

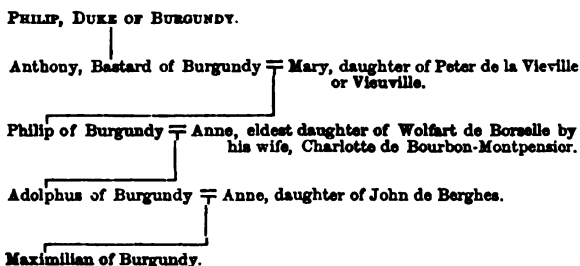
The Matrix of silver-gilt is in the Public Library at Zürich.

1. PERSONAL SEAL OF ANTHONY, BASTARD OF BURGUNDY, Lord of Beveres, and Count de la Roche, from a silver-gilt matrix, preserved at Zürich. He was one of the illegitimate sons of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good, and was a man not only of great courage and skill in military exercises, but also of noble deportment and considerable intelligence and ability. So much did he distinguish himself, that he was generally called the Great Bastard of Burgundy. Highly esteemed by his father, and also by his brother the succeeding Duke, Charles the Rash, he was employed by them in divers honourable services. According to our English chroniclers, he was sent in 1467, by the Duke his father, as ambassador to this country, to negotiate the marriage of his brother, afterwards Duke Charles, with the Lady Margaret, sister of King Edward IV., and being minded to display his prowess and knightly accomplishments on that occasion, he challenged Lord Scales, the brother of the Queen, and fought with him in Smithfield in the presence of the King and a large assemblage of the nobility and chivalry of England. Those writers, however, are singularly incorrect, considering how extensively the principal facts must have been known at the time. The challenge, which led to that celebrated deed of arms, was sent by Lord Scales and accepted by the Bastard of Burgundy above two years, and the negotiation for the marriage had commenced upwards of one year, before the combats took place; which was on the 11th and 12th June, 1467. The marriage nevertheless was not solemnised till more than a year after (10th July, 1468). The death of Duke Philip happened on the 15th June, 1467, during the festivities that immediately followed the encounters in Smithfield, and before the negotiation for that alliance had been concluded. The cause of the feat of arms having been so long delayed after the acceptance of the challenge was a rebellion in Liege and Dinant, which the Bastard and others were sent by Duke Philip with a considerable force to suppress; a mission that was not easily accomplished. We have stated that the challenge proceeded from Lord Scales; but there seems reason to believe, that some little time before there had been a challenge sent by the Bastard to him, and that the unsettled state of affairs in this country at that time prevented the meeting. See *Excerpta Historica*, p. 172. So far from the affair in Smithfield having been the unpremeditated occurrence which the chronicles might lead us to believe, it was preceded by much deliberation and preparation. The preliminary articles and correspondence are printed in the *Excerpta Historica*, pp. 176, et seqq., and much other information relating to the subject is there brought together. The particulars of the combats, as given by the chroniclers, appear to be less accurate than might have been expected, when we consider how numerous were the eye-witnesses. The Bastard's horse did not fall, as stated by them, in consequence of a spike on either the chanfrein or the saddle of Lord Scales's horse having run into its nostrils; but it, by some accident, struck its head with great violence against a part of Lord Scales's saddle, designated by Oliver de la Marche the *hauc*, and thereupon, according to his testimony, who was an eye-witness attending on the Bastard, fell quite dead and stiff (se tua tout roide). Having recently seen what a piece of furniture a tilting-saddle was (p. 37, *supra*), this is quite intelligible. Though Lord Scales had the advantage in two of the three encounters, the Bastard came off without any loss of reputation. In the course with sharp

spears neither of them was hit. The combat which immediately followed with swords was terminated by the accident just mentioned; and that on foot with pole-axes the next day was proceeding vigorously, when it was suddenly stopped by the King throwing down his staff, and calling out "Whoo!" and there is reason to believe this was, as the chronicles state, in consequence of the point of Lord Scales's pole-axe having entered the sight of the Bastard's helm. He had his vizor down, but Lord Scales fought with his up; which the English herald, from whom we derive these particulars, thought "jeopardous." Among the weapons proposed to be used were two sharp-pointed lances for throwing, which, when presented for the King's inspection, were withheld as too dangerous. The Bastard, according to his own chronicler, Oliver de la Marche, who, we have seen, was present, wore his coat of arms, Burgundy with a bar travers, to show that he was a bastard (*estoit paré de sa cote d'armes de Bourgongne à une barre de travers pour monstrier qu'il estoit Bastard*); the same arms doubtless that are on this seal.

He was born, according to the preponderance of authorities, in 1421; and therefore was about forty-four years of age when he accepted Lord Scales's challenge. It seems a little singular that the latter, who was then about twenty-four years old, should, for the chivalrous display of his valour and military skill, have challenged a man so much older than himself; but if the Bastard, as has been mentioned, had previously challenged him, that may be sufficient explanation. In 1453 he, with his father and other princes and nobles, made a vow to perform some feat of arms against the Turks, before whose victorious sultan Constantinople had recently fallen. This vow does not appear to have led to any results of the kind intended, and was probably in some way commuted. In 1456 he was created a knight of the Golden Fleece. At the instance of the pope, and perhaps in satisfaction of the vow just noticed, he in 1464 took the command of an expedition into Barbary, to fight against the Turks; and on that occasion his father is said to have invested him with the *Comté de La Roche* in Ardenne and several other seignories: he returned early in the ensuing year, little having been achieved beyond the relief of Ceuta. In 1468 he distinguished himself at a tournament given on the marriage of his brother, Duke Charles, with the Lady Margaret of England. He and his illegitimate brother Baldwin commanded the vanguard of the Burgundian army at the celebrated battle of Granson in 1476, where the Duke Charles, whose rash imprudence on that occasion he and others in vain endeavoured to moderate, was totally defeated by the Swiss, with the loss of his camp, rich in plate, jewels, and tapestries, as well as in the munitions of war. Shortly after at Morat, where the Duke was again completely defeated with the loss of his camp, the Bastard had the command of the left wing; and a few months after, at Nancy, whither the Swiss had marched to assist their ally King René, Duke of Lorraine, and where Charles not only was once more totally defeated, but lost his life, the command of the centre was committed to the Bastard; and both he and his brother Baldwin were taken prisoners. Louis XI. of France, who had been long hostile to Burgundy, and had assisted King René and the Swiss, requested to have Anthony sent to him; which was done, in spite of the prisoner's remonstrances and offer of a liberal ransom. Contrary to all expectation Louis received him honourably, treated him kindly, and even induced him to enter his service. The King of France having, on the death of

Duke Charles without male issue, taken possession of Burgundy as a lapsed fief, the Bastard seems to have been content to remain in France, though his son Philip was active in the service of his cousin Mary of Burgundy. Louis gave him the *Comtés* of Grandpré, Château-Thierry, Passavant, and Châtillon-sur-Marne. This donation, according to Père Anselme, was made in July, 1476; but that seems extremely improbable. Sainte Marthe ascribes it, as most likely was the fact, to August, 1478. After the death of Louis he continued to serve France under Charles VIII., who created him a Knight of the Order of St. Michael, and granted him letters of legitimation in 1485-6. He died, it should seem, in 1504, at the age of eighty-three, and was buried at Tournehem in Artois. He married Mary, daughter and heiress of Peter de la Vieville or Vieuville in 1459, by whom he left issue a son and two daughters; but there is some reason to think she was not his first wife, though of the name or parentage of his supposed former wife, or of the time of the marriage, nothing appears to be known.* In vol. x. p. 154 of this Journal we described a remarkably fine Admiralty seal of Maximilian of Burgundy. He was great grandson of this Anthony, as is indeed there mentioned; but this will more clearly appear from the following pedigree:—



Of the seal of Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, we have given two woodcuts of the matrix, as well as one of the impression. The matrix, as has been stated, is of silver-gilt; its form and general appearance will be best learned from the woodcuts. It is preserved in the public Library at Zürich, having been part of the spoils of the Burgundian camp at Granson, which were divided by the Swiss among the several Cantons. For pointing out this interesting relic, and for obtaining permission for drawings and an impression to be made of it, the Institute is indebted to the kindness of the principal librarian, Dr. Siegfried, and of the learned President of the Antiquaries of Zürich, Dr. Keller.

As will be seen on inspection of the woodcut of the impression, it is circular, and 2 inches in diameter. The arms are those of Duke Philip, his father, differenced by a mark of illegitimacy, viz., quarterly 1. and 4. Burgundy modern; 2. per pale old Burgundy and Brabant; 3. per pale old Burgundy and Limbourg; on an inescutcheon Flanders; with, over all, a bâton sinister (the *barre de travers* mentioned by de la Marche) for a difference. The shield is ensigned with a helmet in profile, whereon is a

* After this notice of Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, was prepared, we were reminded of a biographical memoir of him

by Mr. Planché, in the *Archæologia*, xxvii. p. 428, where some other particulars of his life are mentioned.

torce, and for a crest an owl full faced ; the supporters are two griffins ; and the legend, which is on a scroll showing one end on each side of the crest, is, *S' anthoine bastart de bourgoigne conte de la roche*, the words being on every occasion separated by a fleur-de-lis (probably derived from the crest of his father) instead of the usual point or points, and a fleur-de-lis also appearing on one end of the scroll. Vredius, in his *Genealogia Comitum Flandrensium*, fo. 126, has engraved another seal of this Anthony, differing materially from the present. There the arms of his father are placed (without any mark of difference) on a wide bend, the crest is a lion's head in profile between two wings issuing out of a coronet, the supporters are a lion and a griffin, and the legend is, *S' Anthoine bastart de burgundie seigneur de beuri & de choques* ; there was probably a line, indicating a contraction, over the second u in *burgundie*, and another over the u in *seigneur*. "Beuri" is so unusual a form of Beveres, that we cannot help thinking the engraver must have misread as an i an ordinary contraction for *es* ; and "choques" might be supposed to have been some misreading of *Rogues*, but it may be Choques in Artois, near Bethune. The variations in the crest and supporters are remarkable. We have not been able to ascertain whence the owl was derived. It was afterwards borne by the son, grandson, great-grandson, and other descendants of this Anthony. His father's crest was a double fleur-de-lis. His (Anthony's) mother's name was Iola or Joanna de Prelles, but we cannot connect the owl with her family. The owl may be of the kind called *oiseau duc*, though why so named is unknown to us.⁵ The occasion of this change in his armorial bearings does not appear. He had an elder illegitimate brother named Cornelius, who was called the Bastard of Burgundy, and was a great favorite of the Duke, his father. He was killed at the battle of Rupelmonde in 1452 ; and afterwards, De la Marche informs us, this Anthony was no longer called "Messire Anthoine," but Bastard of Burgundy, as Cornelius had been. It is not improbable that he then discontinued the arms on the seal engraved by Vredius, and took those which are on the seal under notice ; which, for aught that appears, may have been borne by Cornelius. Vredius does not state to what document the seal engraved by him was attached, nor the date of it ; but he mentions a document with the seal of Anthony, and only one ; and therefore it is not improbable that the engraving was taken from that, and the document is dated in October, 1446 ; which was in the lifetime of Cornelius. A younger illegitimate brother, viz., Baldwin, also bore the arms of the Duke, his father, on a very wide bend. They appear on his seal given by Vredius, which was probably the same that was attached to a document printed by him that is dated in 1483. This looks as if the arms previously borne by Anthony had passed to him. We may here add, as further illustrative of the heraldry of illegitimacy, that another brother, John, an ecclesiastic, bore the father's arms on a very wide fess ; so wide as to leave only small portions of the field visible in chief and in base. An illegitimate great grandson of Anthony bore the arms of Duke Philip on a wide chevron. In this country we find, among the various modes in which bastards have borne their father's arms, some traces of a practice not

⁵ According to Chifflet, as quoted by Mr. Planché, the *Oiseau duc* was the crest of the ancient Dukes of Burgundy. What work of Chifflet's contains this statement is not mentioned. We find the arms and

crest in his *Insignia Gentilitia Equitum Ordinis Velleris Aurei*, but not the statement referred to. Nor can we discover that those Dukes bore an owl for a crest.

very dissimilar to the examples above mentioned. The three illegitimate sons of John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, by Catherine Swinford, viz. John, Henry, and Thomas Beaufort, before their legitimation bore per pale *arg.* and *az.* on a bend Lancaster, i.e., England with a label of France; the coats of Henry and Thomas, the second and third sons, having been differenced respectively by a crescent and a mullet. After the act of legitimation in 20 Rich. II., they bore France and England quarterly within a bordure compony *arg.* and *az.*, the second and third sons having added appropriate differences. Sir Roger of Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince, bore *or* on a bend *sa.* 3 ostrich feathers the pen of each in a scroll *arg.* Charles Somerset, created Earl of Worcester in 1514, natural son of Henry Beaufort, third Duke of Somerset, who was executed in 1463, bore his father's coat with a bâton sinister *arg.*; his eldest son, Henry, Earl of Worcester, discarded the bâton, and bore the Beaufort arms on a wide fess. Other examples might easily be adduced to show, if that were our object, how far from uniform was the usage as regards the manner in which illegitimate sons bore their fathers' arms in mediæval times.

In the Trésor de Numismatique, Sceaux des Grands Feudataires, pl. xvi, there is an engraving, on a slightly reduced scale, of an impression of the above described seal of the Great Bastard of Burgundy.

2. SEAL of PETER DE LEKEBURNE, a personal Seal with heraldry, and the counterseal with a device. This seal, for which we are indebted to Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley, M.P., has been preserved among the muniments of Lord Willoughby de Broke, at Compton Verney, in Warwickshire. The impression, on green wax, is appended to the following document, without date, which may be assigned to the thirteenth century. It relates, as Mr. Shirley stated, to Ropsley in Lincolnshire, part of the old Willoughby possessions, and is a grant by Peter de Lekeburne to Peter de Goudinctone, of all his wood, called "Lund de Ropelley," with the ditches by which it was enclosed, also of all the land and the "Laundis," or untilled open spaces in a woodland locality.⁶ We give this document *in extenso*.

"Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego, Petrus de Lekeburne, dedi et concessi, et hac mea presente carta confirmavi et quietum clamavi Petro de Goudinctone et heredibus suis, sive suis assignatis, totum boscum meum, cum fossatis quibus includitur, qui vocatur Lund de Ropelley, cum tota terra et omnibus Laundis infra fossata dicti Lundi inclusis, sine aliquo retenemento, pro quatuor viginti et decem libris esterlingorum quas predictus Petrus de Goudinctone michi dedit pre manibus; tenendum et habendum sibi et heredibus suis, sive suis assignatis, libere, quiete, et hereditarie, sine aliqua calumpnia mei vel heredum meorum. Et ego, Petrus de Lekeburne et heredes mei predicto Petro de Goudinctone et heredibus suis, vel suis assignatis, dictum boscum qui dicitur Lund', cum tota terra et omnibus Laundis infra fossatum dicti Lundi inclusis, simul cum dictis fossatis, contra omnes warantizabimus, et de omnibus secularibus demandis adquietabimus et defendemus. Hiis testibus, domino Johanne Guboud de Repinchale, Domino Johanne filio Hugonis de eadem villa, Ricardo de Sohneham de eadem, Nicholas de Balinbure, Wyhoto Guboud,

Lawnde of a wode, *Salvus*, lawnde kepare, *Salator*." Prompt. Parv. "Lande, a land or laund, a wild untilled shrubbie, or bushie plaine," Cotgrave. The word

is used by Chaucer, and also by Shakespeare: "Through the laund anon the deer will come," Henry V. part iii.

⁷ Sir John Gobaud occurs in the Roll

Galfrido et Roberto fratribus suis, Willelmo le Bretun, Willelmo de Linc' clerico, et multis aliis."

(Endorsed in a later hand, "Lynd de Ropley.")



The seal of Peter de Lekeburne, as will be seen by the woodcut, is of circular form and very rude execution; the work is in extremely low relief; the impression has the appearance of having been produced by a matrix of lead, such as was very commonly used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by persons in the middle and lower ranks of society. It bears a device, doubtless intended to represent an heraldic escutcheon, very unskilfully designed and of irregular shape; the charge being, as may be conjectured, a fess with a chevron in chief. The legend reads as follows: + SIGILL' P[ETRI] DE · LEKEBVNE.; the last letter of the name is imperfect, but it was probably an E. The counterseal, of pointed-oval form, is of rather better execution; the device is the Holy Lamb with the legend, ECCE AGN' D[EI].

We have been unable to identify satisfactorily either the grantor, or the precise locality to which this document relates; Ropsley, a parish in Lincolnshire, in a woodland district, is situate about five miles east of Grantham. A few miles to the south, near Burton Coggles, there is found a wood called Lawn Wood, which, however, seems too remote to be the Lund named in the grant of Peter de Lekeburne. The fact, that the three principal witnesses are described as of Rippingale, a parish distant about seven miles from Ropsley, to the north of Bourne, may serve to corroborate the conclusion, that the wood known as "Lund de Ropelley," was in that sylvan district of Lincolnshire. We are, moreover, informed by

of Arms, *t.* Edw. II., in the county of Lincoln. The name likewise occurs in the Roll *t.* Edw. III.

Lord Monson, whose extensive knowledge of family history and descent of property in his county has on a former occasion been kindly made available for the gratification of the Institute, that in a MS. note-book of Bishop Saunderson's he had noticed, under Ropsley, references to certain deeds showing that Peter de Lekeburne held land in that parish in 19 and 24 Edw. I.; and that in 5 Edw. III., a Peter de Lekeburne again occurs, having rights of warren in Ropsley. The family may probably have derived their name from the parish now called Legbourn, near Louth, in the north-eastern parts of Lincolnshire, with which, as Lord Monson has pointed out, Peter de Lekeburne is found to have been connected, as appears in an *Inquis. post Mortem*, 25 Edw. I. He held of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, three fees, with the manor and advowson of Raithby, in the neighbourhood of Louth, and lands in Halington, Tathwell, Maltby, &c., as also in Somercotes, Sutton, and Saltfleetby, a few miles distant, near the coast.⁵ A Peter de Lekeburne was one of the bail for William de Luda, Bishop of Ely, in 21 Edw. I.⁶ In the Hundred Rolls Peter de Lekeburne appears as *mesne lord*, under Sir Robert de Ros, of lands in Repinghall (Repingale before mentioned, near Bourne), and Repingdon, in the *Wapentake of Avelund in Kesteven*. Lord Monson states that he possesses no pedigree of the family amongst his collections, and that he had sought in vain for any notice of the Lekeburnes or their arms in Gervase Hollis' Collections.

In addition to these brief notices, we may observe that it appears that Joan, who was the wife of a Peter de Lekeburn, gave half a mark for a writ into Lincolnshire in 31 Hen. III.; also in 35 Hen. III., Peter, son of Walter de Lekeburne and Alice his wife, had a writ of trespass into Lincolnshire.¹

The Lekeburne family bore a chevron with some difference, such as crosses or cross-crosslets. We find in the Roll *t. Edw. II.*, under Lincolnshire, "Sire Henri de Lekebourne, de argent, crusule de sable, a un cheveron de sable," and in the Roll *t. Edw. III.*, "Monsire de Lekeborne, argent, une cheveron entre crusule sable." Peter, grantor of the "Lund de Ropelley," may have been a cadet, and have differenced his coat by enhancing the chevron, with the addition of a fess, as seen upon the rudely designed escutcheon on the seal figured above.

Mr. Shirley, to whose kindness the Institute is indebted for the accompanying woodcuts, brought this seal under our notice as an uncommon example of the use of a counterseal and device of sacred character in seals of this class and period. The pointed-oval form, moreover, accompanied by the sacred device of the Lamb, had been regarded as more properly suitable to the seal of an ecclesiastic. We have stated on former occasions, that the supposed rule, which would limit the use of that form in personal seals to those of ladies or of ecclesiastics, rests on no sufficient authority: in the present instance, however, it may not be undeserving of consideration whether Peter de Lekeburne may not have borrowed as a *secretum* the seal of William de Lincoln, *clericus*, by whose hand in all probability the grant which we have here printed had been written; it may moreover have been added to aid the authentication of that of William de Lekeburne.

WESTON S. WALFORD AND ALBERT WAY.

⁵ *Inqu. p.m.* vol. i. p. 143.

⁶ *Rot. Parl.* vol. i. p. 112.

¹ Robert's *Excerpta c Rot. Finium*, vol. ii. pp. 21. 117.

Original Documents.

INVENTORY OF THE EFFECTS OF ROGER DE MORTIMER AT WIGMORE CASTLE AND ABBEY, HEREFORDSHIRE. DATED 15 EDWARD II., A.D. 1322.

COMMUNICATED BY THE REV. LAMBERT B. LARKING, M.A.

AMONG the Miscellaneous Records of the Queen's Remembrancer, recently removed from the Branch Public Records Office, Carlton Ride, to the principal depository in Chancery Lane, there is preserved a collection of accounts and inventories of considerable interest, not less as illustrative of ancient manners, than as relating to a remarkable period in English History. They have been known as the accounts of "Contrariants' Lands," having been rendered to the Crown after the seizure of the castles, lands, and effects of the barons, who had risen in insurrection with Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Roger de Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, Roger de Mortimer, of Chirk, his uncle, Roger de Clifford, and other powerful malcontents, excited to rebellion through the overbearing rapacity of the Despensers and the feeble tyranny of Edward II. The bold insurgents reached London in August, 1321, and obtained from parliament a sentence of attainder and exile against the obnoxious favourites, in which the sovereign was not only compelled to acquiesce, but actually to give the rebels the indemnity which they demanded for their illegal violence. It were needless here to relate the course of well-known events which followed the indignity thus offered to the royal authority:—the return of the Despensers; the declining popularity of the Earl of Lancaster, leader of the insurgent barons; his traitorous negotiation with the Scots; his capture and disgraceful fate at Pontefract, in March, 1322, after the defeat at Boroughbridge, by which the powerful faction was broken up. The confederates were, with few exceptions, taken prisoners; most of the bannerets and the principal knights were executed; a few, among whom were the two Mortimers, received judgment of death, commuted for perpetual imprisonment. The castles and estates of the insurgents were forfeited; the two Mortimers were committed to the Tower, where the elder, as it is stated, died shortly after; his nephew, the lord of Wigmore, had the good fortune to effect his escape to France, August 2, 1323, and entered into the service of Charles de Valois.

It is with pleasure that we acknowledge our obligation to the Rev. L. B. Larking, who has brought the following document under our notice, and kindly supplied a transcript.

The Roll, of which the more interesting portions are subjoined, contains the account of Alan de Cherletone, to whose custody the castle and lordship of Wigmore had been committed, and it sets forth the goods and chattels of Roger de Mortimer found therein. It extends from Jan. 23, 15 Edw. II. (1322) to the day after the feast of St. Michael, Sept. 29, following. The Roll is marked HCH. 3652, and it is thus entitled:—

"Compotus Alani de Cherletone, Custodis Castri et dominii de Wyggemor, que fuerunt Rogeri de Mortuo Mari de Wyggemor; ac eiam de bonis et catallis ipsius Rogeri in eisdem inventis, a xxiiij^o. die Januarii, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi xv^o. usque in crastinum Sancti Michaelis proxime sequens."

The office title of the separate Roll containing the inventory of effects is, "Ed. II. Bona inventa in Castro de Wyggemore." It is here printed in *extenso*, with the exception of such contracted words as appeared to present any uncertainty in regard to the precise power of the contractions used. It has not been thought necessary to give the items occurring in the original under the "*Liberacio*," being in the same order and almost literally identical with the list preceding it. Any variation, however, which could be regarded as material, will be found in the notes.

The Inventory is divided under several heads, commencing with the "Bona et Catalla" found in Wigmore Castle, which consisted chiefly of appliances of war, armour, and arms, with some objects of personal use and articles of household furniture. A few explanatory observations may prove, as I hope, acceptable to the reader.

"*Springaus*,"¹ called in Mediæval Latin *Espringala*, *Springarda*, &c., were military engines of the nature of the *balista*, used, as we learn from Guill. Guiart, to throw quarrels feathered with brass ("li garrot empane d'arain"), and serving also to project great stones or gogions, as stated in an account of the provisions for the defences of Norwich in 1342. (Blomefield, Hist. Norf. vol. ii., p. 63.) In Trevisa's version of Vegetius mention is made of "grete bowes of brake and spryngoldes wound and bent with vise with hugy shaftes made theraftre with brode and large hedes of stele and irene," used against war-elephants. The various kinds of *balistæ* or crossbows have never been accurately defined; we here meet with *balistæ* of horn and of wood, both of these kinds being *ad viz*, namely, fitted with an apparatus for winding up the bow, of which mention occurs in the Romance of Richard Cœur de Lion, where we read that the king "bent an arweblast off vye," and transfixes seven Saracens. The windlass or *moulinet* used in this operation is figured in its most perfect form in Skelton's Goodrich Court Armory, vol. ii., pl. 94; thence doubtless certain crossbows were described as *à tour*, or, as among the warlike stores of Marlborough, in 1215, "*balistæ ad turnum*," there found with "*balistæ ad unum pedem*,—*balistæ cornes ad unum pedem*,—*ad duos pedes*," &c. Rot. Pat. 16 John. Crossbows of these various kinds are enumerated among the stores of Dover Castle in the Inventory, dated 1344, printed in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 383. The operation of winding up the bow was effected by aid of a stirrup-iron at the extremity of the stock. The designation *ad duos pedes* has sometimes been considered as relating possibly to the length of the shaft, but this is improbable. It may appear scarcely practicable to have used such a stirrup with both feet, and the numerous representations of bending the crossbow by aid of the *stapha* or stirrup supply no example of its use in that manner, which would obviously have given much greater purchase when the bow was of unusual

¹ Roy MS. 18, A. xii. See a representation of a springald in De Vigne's Vade-Mecum du Peintre, vol. ii. p. 41, pl. A. Springalds and quarrels for springalds VOL. XV.

occur among the stores of Dover Castle, 1344 and 1361, Archaeol. Journal, vol. xi. pp. 383, 385.

power. The expression of Le Breton, in the Philippiados, "*Balista duplici tensa pede missa sagitta*," seems, however, to favour the supposition that the "*balista ad duos pedes*" may have been used in that manner. We must admit our inability to explain the nature of the *costæ* (? ribs or side-pieces) of wood or horn, described as *sine talar*, but it is probable that the appliance last mentioned may have been that alluded to in the appellation *arbaleste à tailler*, in the *Computus* of Bartholomew de Drach, in 1338, cited by Ducange.² The term occurs again in a later part of the Inventory under consideration, "*iiij. talar pro balistis et i. viz.*" About 1460, John Paston writes thus to his brother Sir John, "I have delyueryd your . . . crosbowys with telers and wyndas, and your Normandy byll to Kerby to bryng with hym to London." Paston Letters, vol. iv. p. 420.

Some terms of rare occurrence will be noticed among the armour and arms. With the pairs of plates, namely the breast and back plates, are enumerated a *cuirie*, the leathern prototype of the cuirass, and two pairs *lameriorum*, probably a kind of body-armour. Renouard, in the *Lexique* Roman, gives "*Lamiera, lamière, sorte d'armure en lames de métal*," citing a passage in the Life of S. Honorat, where it is mentioned with the gamboison. The term, and also probably the peculiar kind of armour which it designated, are Italian. See the quotations cited in the *Vocab. della Crusca*, where *Lamiera* is explained to be "*Usbergo di lama di ferro*." Ducange also cites certain statutes regarding dues on importation of "*lameriarum et pectoralium*." We have not hitherto found mention of a pair *de lunett*, nor of pairs *de besescus*, unless the latter may be identical with the pieces of armour, apparently part of the helmet, which occur in the Life of Richard Beauchamp by John Rous, who relates that the Earl tilting with Sir Hugh Lawney, "*Smote up his visar thries and brake his besagues and other harneys*."³

An item which presents considerable difficulty here occurs, namely, "*x. tabor pro ripar*." In the Wardrobe Book, 28 Edw. I., published by the Society of Antiquaries, p. 89, a payment occurs "*pro decem tabures pro Ripar emptis*." They were purchased by the sheriffs of London by the king's order, and sent to him at Nottingham. Again, at p. 301, a payment is found to a messenger carrying the king's letters to the sheriffs, "*pro Taburis et Riparia per eosdem vicecomites emend*," &c., and for hiring a hackney to bring the said tabors to the king. The term is again found in a passage in the *Chronicles* of Ralph de Diceto, under the year 1191, during the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion.⁴ A young man of the

² See in Skelton's *Illustrations of the Goodrich Court Armory*, vol. ii. pl. 94, 98, representations of various kinds of cross-bows, the latch or *gros arbaleste*, the prodd or *arbaleste-à-jalet*, &c. There appear to have been two kinds of apparatus for bending the more powerful bows; the more complicated moulinet, or *cranequin*, and a simpler contrivance called a *pie-de-chevre*, or *de biche*, sometimes called a crow's-foot lever, figured *ibid.* pl. 95. Florio in his *Italian Dictionary* renders "*Balestra*, any kind of crosse-bow or tillar.—*Balista*, a stock-bow, a crosse-bow, a tillar." The term tillar appears to be

retained to designate the lever by which a rudder is managed, and to which the "*talar pro balistis*" above mentioned (possibly the crow's-foot lever), may have had a certain resemblance in form. Compare Carré's representation of the *pie-de-biche*, in his *Panoplie*, p. 264, pl. viii.

³ Cott. MS., Julius E. iv. The drawings in this MS. have been engraved for Strutt's *Manners and Customs*: see vol. ii. pl. 36. Meyrick's *Crit. Enquiry*, vol. ii. p. 160.

⁴ Rad. de Diceto, *Script. Decem*, col. 666. Compare Matthew Paris, under the year 1191.

bishop of London's household had trained a hawk to take teals (*cercellas*): "Itaque juxta sonitum illius instrumenti, quod a Ripatoribus vocatur tabur, subito cercella quædam alarum remigio perniciousiter evolavit." The hawk, thus baffled, pounced on a pike which was swimming, and carried it to a considerable distance. The bishop sent the hawk and the fish as a curiosity to John, Earl of Mortaine, the king's brother. The glossarists seem to have been greatly perplexed by this passage: Somner, in his Glossary to Diceto, explained *ripatores* as signifying reapers, and others have followed his interpretation. It is evident however from the "Titulus de vadiis, &c., falconarum, venatorum," &c., in the Household Book, 28 Edw. I., before cited, that *ripator* signified a person engaged in some of the functions of falconry, possibly in the pursuit of waterfowl on the banks of rivers. Sir John de Bikenore, the *Asturcarius Regis*, received his wages at the rate of 2s. per diem for 43 days, "per quos fuit extra curiam cum asturcis Regis *ad ripand'* per vices;" and various persons in the service of Sir John received payments for keeping hawks in mew and for time passed "*extra curiam in ripando* per vices." The word is not found in Ducange: in Henschel's edition we find *Ripanare*, explained as signifying hawking, *aucupari*.

The heterogeneous character of the items here enumerated as found in Mortimer's castle, may serve to supply a singular picture of the interior conditions of the stronghold of the Lord Marcher. With the stern appliances of war we find mingled those for field sports, fetters for prisoners, nets for snaring wild beasts, possibly including wolves; the "*sperth'* de Hibernia," the Irish axe or sparth, which Brompton and other chroniclers tell us was brought to Ireland by the Norwegians;⁵ body armour and objects destined only for the tournament; household vessels and provisions; and amidst these an incidental trace of some approach towards social refinements, the large chess-board painted and gilt, the *familia* of chessmen being also found in a later part of the Inventory; the "*tablar'* de muge," a board for the game of tables or draughts, formed of some exotic wood, doubtless of aromatic quality, and considered to be that of the nutmeg tree. Such Eastern rarities were held in high estimation. In the Inventory of effects of Humphry de Bohun, 1322, given by Mr. Hudson Turner in this Journal, vol. ii. p. 348, occur the items, "*j. poume muge mys en un crampoun dargent ove menues piers et perles; j. petite coupe de muge ove le pee et le covercle d'argent suzorré.*"

From the castle the Inventory leads us to the outer court, wherein were stored in stacks various kinds of grain and hay, &c., and there also were found heifers, oxen, swine, and five peacocks, their value was not known.

We next proceed to the effects found in Wigmore Abbey, situated about a mile from the castle. That noble monastery had been amply endowed by Hugh Mortimer, in 1179, and on the present occasion the patron appears to have confided to the monks his costly hangings and coverlets, carpets and dorsers, and also his wardrobe, with a precious heir-loom, the brazen horn, "*quod una cum quodam fauchone est, ut dicitur, Carta terre de Wygemore.*" This tenure-horn was delivered up to the King; we are not

⁵ Liber Garderob., pp. 304—308.

⁶ "Sparthe, wepne, *Bipennis*" Prompt. Parv. Compare Chaucer, Rom. of Rose, v. 591; Ducange, v. Sparth, and Secures

Danicæ. Giraldus in his Topogr. Hibern., iii. c. 21, describes the usage of the Irish to carry an axe on all occasions "*quasi pro baculo.*"

aware that it has been mentioned elsewhere. At the Abbey had been also deposited a quantity of valuable armour, probably part of the provision for the Lord of Wigmores own person ; also a large collection of valuable furniture, hangings, garments, linen, and precious objects of personal use, belonging, as it was said, to the wife of Roger Mortimer. Those who take an interest in military costume will notice some items of rare occurrence, the helm with a *guichet*, or wicket-like aperture on one side, which might be opened to give the wearer fresh air ; the "*Camisia de Chartres*," possibly a shirt of mail made at Chartres, and of which we have not found mention in any other document, with the exception of the *chemise de Chartres*, among the armour in which two knights engaged in a judicial combat in Brittany were to be equipped.⁷ The horse-armour of leather, doubtless cuirbouilli, flaunchers and picers, or defences for the flanks and chest, deserve notice. Leathern armour was probably in frequent use for such purposes ; thus in the will of the Earl Warren, 1347, we find a bequest to Robert de Holand, of "*les quissers ove le picer de cuir qui sount pour mon destruer ;*"⁸ and the Chronicle of Louis XI. appended to De Comines' Memoirs mentions a valuable horse, "*tout barde de cuyr bouilly*," slain by a shot from a culverine in the attack of Paris by the Burgundians in 1465.⁹ A singular item here occurs in the pair "*de botes plumetez de ferro*." I can only offer the supposition that they may have been covered with iron scales overlapping like feathers, and have been in some degree analogous in their construction to the defences "*de pampilon*," which, as observed in a former volume of this Journal, bore resemblance possibly to the bearing in heraldry termed by the French *papelonné*.¹

The enumeration of the wardrobe of Lady Mortimer contains many items interesting in illustration of personal appliances and costume. Here also we find mention of the few books which occur in this Inventory, consisting of a Psalter and four books of Romances ; unfortunately the titles are not given. Among the possessions of Mortimer's confederate, the Earl of Hereford, there was only one secular volume, but one in great repute in his age, the "*livre qe est apelee Sydrak*," which the fabulous King Boctus caused to be written on all the sciences by the equally fabulous Sydrak.²

The farm stock, sheep and oxen, carts and waggons, grain and forage, found at Mortimer's manor of Leinthall Starke, about a mile to the east of Wigmores Castle, are next enumerated, the concluding item being three pair "*cignorum aerariorum*," in a stew (*vivario*) at Wigmore, and in other stews within the demesne. To heiry or heire, in the old regulations regarding swans, seems to signify either to make a nest and lay eggs, or to brood, to have young,³ and aiery or eyery denotes a nest, generally however of birds of prey. See Nares' Glossary. I am unable to determine whether in the passage before us *aerariorum* may signify brooding swans, or young birds on the nest.

The Inventory concludes with a short list of effects, found after the

⁷ Probat. Hist. Britan. tom. 1, col. 1222. The Chronicle of Colmar, under the year 1298, describes the "*Camisiam ferream, id est, vestem ex circulis ferreis contextam*," probably the hauberk. Ducange v. Armati.

⁸ Testam. Ebor., Surtees Society, p. 43.

⁹ De Comines, tom. ii. p. 42, edit. 1747.

¹ Archæol. Journ., vol. xi. p. 388.

² Archæol. Journ., vol. ii. p. 349.

³ Ancient Regulations regarding swans, Transactions of the Lincoln Meeting of the Institute, pp. 306, 310.

Indenture was made; the only item of importance was a coffer containing charters and writings, which were delivered to the King at Hereford.

ALBERT WAY.

PER ISTUM ROTULUM DEBET REDDI COMPOTUS REGI.

REX.

BONA ET CATALLA INVENTA IN CASTRO DE WYGEMOKE, UT PATET PER INDENTURAM. Idem respondet de iij. Springaus cum apparatu; iij. Springaus sine apparatu; xiiij. Balistis de cornu ad viz, cum tribus costis de cornu sine talar'; vij. balistis de ligno ad viz, cum c. et xxx. quarellis, quorum lxx. pennate de pennis eneis, et lx. de pennis ligneis; iij. ingenis pro balistis tendendis; xvij. balistis de ligno ad unum pedem, et una costa de ligno sine talar', cum clx. quarellis; ij. paribus de plates; j. quirre; ij. paribus lameriorum; iij. galee (*sic*) pro justis; iij. paribus bracers (*sic*); j. pari de lunett'; j. grate; iij. vaumplates; iij. paribus de besescus; viij. scutis; iiij. targetis; j. galea pro guerra; ij. capell' de nervis; vj. galeis pro torniamentis; v. capell' de ferro; j. capell' de nervis; i. paribus de gaumbers; xij. lanceis; viij. hastis lancearum; vj. pavilon' et tent'; iij. ferris pro frenis ad torniamentum; ij. arcubus Saracenis, cum iij. sagittis Saracenis; x. tabor' pro ripar'; j. magno scaccario de auro depicto; j. tablar' de muge; j. macea de ferro; j. panerio pleno de diversis instrumentis pro confectione balistarum; xiiij. capitibus ferreis pro lanceis; j. coronali pro justis; ix. capitibus magnis pro sagittis; ij. reciis pro feris capiendis; j. sperth' de Hibernia; iiij. compedibus cum boltis, et xj. sine boltis; j. grym; i. unctis⁴ ferr' pro incendio domorum; x. cistis; ij. coffris trussator'; vj. tabulis pro mensis; iiij. formis; vj. doleis vacuis; iij. barellis ferratis; ij. caudron' debilibus confractis; j. magna cuna; x. parvis cunis; j. alveo; et j. cista ad bulletandum. Item, de victualibus.⁵—De iij. doleis et una pipa vini plenis; vj. quarteriis frumenti, precium quarterii x. s.; viij. quarteriis bras' aven', precium quarterii ij. s. iij. d.; j. quarterio fabarum, precii xl. d.; xij. baconibus, precium baconis ij. s.; xiiij. bacon' pernis,¹ precium cujuslibet xij. d.; cc. stoc fich, precium centen' vj. s.; iiij. quarteriis grossi salis, precium quarterii xx. d.; ij. bussellis minuti salis, precium busselli iij. d.

Then follows the *Liberacio* of the before mentioned items; part of the armour to the King "per literam suam;" springalds, quarrels, &c., and wine to the Earl of Arundel; wine to the Earl of Richmond; wine and salt "domine de Mortuo Mari." Part of the wine and provisions was sold.

BONA INVENTA IN CURIA FORINSECA CASTRI PREDICTI. Idem respondet de frumento estimato in tasso per sacramentum proborum et legalium

⁴ In the stores of Dover Castle, 35 Edw. III., "j. grate pur joutea."

⁵ See the notes on *Capellae de nervis* in this Journal, vol. xi., p. 388.

⁶ Venacione, *erased*.

⁷ Query! Grynne, a snare, *laqueus*. Trevisa in his version of Vegetius, writes, that some make "as it were a greune of ropes" to catch the battering ram.

⁸ *Sic*. In the *Liberacio* the corresponding word is written *uncti*. Possibly the word should be read *uncci*, hooks at-

tached to long poles to pull down out buildings, &c., which had taken fire.

⁹ The whole of these entries of provisions are crossed out. In the margin is written, "Vium et blad' comp' extra."

¹ *Perna* is sometimes explained to be a gammon of bacon. The Prompt. Parv. gives "Flykke of bacon, *Perna*, *petaso*." According to the *Ortus Vocabulorum*, "*Perna* est baconus vel bafia porci; est medietas corporis porci, vel quarta pars bovis, a flyke of bacon."

hominum de Wygemore, videlicet, vj. quarteriis, precium quarterii vj. s.; iiij. quarteriis aven' in garbis, precium quarterii ij. s.; ij. quarteriis pisarum in garbis, precium quarterii xl. d. Item, de feno estimato ad xxx. s.; v. affris, precium cujuslibet dimid' marc'; xlvj. boves (*sic*), precium bovis ix. s.; x. vaccis, precium cujuslibet vj. s.; j. apro, precii iij. s.; iiij. suibus, precium cujuslibet ij. s.; vj. porcellis, precium cujuslibet vj. d.; v. pavonibus, quorum precium ignoratur; iiij. plaustris ferratis, precium cujuslibet dimid' marc'; ij. carectis ferratis debilibus, precium cujuslibet ij. s.

Then follows the *Liberacio* of all the last-mentioned items. Two pigs, price 2s., were delivered "Ricardo de Burgo pro sustentacione domine de Mortuo Mari." Two peacocks were sold; and there were accounted for three little pigs and two peacocks "in mor^a."²

BONA INVENTA IN ABBATIA DE WYGEMORE.—Garderob'.} Idem respondet de uno coopertorio pro lecto viridi intexto de Huwanes,² cum iiij. tapetis ejusdem secte; j. coopertorio pro lecto de chaump bluetto diversis armis intextis, cum iiij. tapetis ejusdem secte; j. coopertorio pro lecto de opere nodato, cum iiij. tapetis ejusdem secte; j. magno dorsor' pro aula intexto de paping' et griffon'; ij. dorsor' croceis veteribus et curtis, rosis rub' intextis; j. banquer' ejusdem operis; j. dorsor' de bono et subtili opere, cum iiij. tapetis ejusdem secte; j. longo banquer' palee de croceo et rub'; ij. courtapis de velveto viridi; j. tunica; ij. supertunicis, et j. collobio de scarlett' abaque furrur' et capucio; j. tunica, ij. supertunicis, j. collobio et j. capucio de panno bruno mixto, absque furrur'; j. tunica de ynde velveto; j. supertunica et j. collobio de rub' scarletto pro estate, absque capucio; j. tunica, ij. supertunicis, j. collobio et uno capucio de panno bruno de morree; j. supertunica de viridi cum quarterio glauco, et j. capucio linato de sindon' rub'; ij. ulnis et dim' de panno bono stragulato; iiij. ulnis de panno stragulato minoris precii; ij. ulnis et dim' de panno crocei coloris stragulato minoris valoris; iiij. ulnis de panno crocei coloris non stragulato; vj. ulnis de panno viridi non stragulato; xj. ulnis de panno stragulato persi coloris; j. longa pilowe cooperta sindon'; j. capell' nigro furrato de nigro bugeto; x. minutis pellibus de damis et capriolis; xj. sagittis cum magnis capitibus ferr'; uno cornu eneo quod una cum quodam fauchone est, ut dicitur, Carta terre de Wygemore; ij. cornua de bugle.

Inde computat x. minutas pelles de damis et capriolis, et unum cornu cneum, liberata (*sic*) domino Regi per literam suam predictam. Et totum residuum remanet, et postea missum erat per literam domini Regis Constabulario de Glovernia, videlicet Gilberto Talebot.

ITEM, ARMATURE INVENTE IN PREDICTA ABBATIA.—Armutar'.} Idem respondet de viij. loriciis; j. corset de ferro; j. pari de gussetis; j. gorgier' dup'; vij. paribus de chaucouns; v. coifes loricarum; ij. capell' ferr' cum

² This term is obscure. *Mora* or *Mura* signifies a lodging, a dwelling-place, as shown in several passages cited in Duncange, edit. Henschel, in v. *Mora*, a moor. It seems here inapplicable, as does also *Moria* or *Muria*, brine in which the porkers might possibly have been pickled. In the *Compotus* receipts appear "de corio unius affri de *morina* vendito," and "de ij. coreis boum et uno coreo vacce in *morina* venditis;" the meaning being, doubtless, that the hides had been stripped

off from dead carcasses; in old French *morine* signified wool taken from sheep which had died of disease (Roquefort). It has not been ascertained at what period the peacock was brought to this country. In an indenture of farming stock delivered to the bailiff of Mangerton, 1381, occur "3 Paukockes, 4 Polhennes." Harl. Cart. 55, B. 45. A "Pohen" appears in the illuminations of the Sherborn Missal.

³ Owls, *chat-huants*. Roquefort gives *Huan*, hibou, chouette.

viser'; j. galea cum guichet; j. capell' ferreum rotundum; j. aketon' cooperto de panno de taffata taneto, cum una camisa de chartres; v. paribus de chanfrenis pro equis ad arma, cum quinque paribus coopertorum de frett', cum flauncheris et piceris de corio; ij. paribus de treppes;⁴ xj. paribus coopertorum ferr' pro equis, et ij. mantell' ferr'; j. pari cirothecarum de plate; ij. bracers de plate; j. pari de gaumbris; j. pari sotlar' (sic) de plate; j. colar' de ferro; j. scuto; iiij. lanceis pro guerra; iiij. lanceis pro justis; j. pari de botes plumetez de ferro; ij. gladiis cum harnesio argenteo.

Et computat totum liberatum domino Regi per literam suam predictam, exceptis j. gorger' dupplici, ij. paribus de treppes, j. scuto, iiij. lanceis pro guerra, et iiij. lanceis pro justis, que remanent in Abbatia predicta.

BONA INVENTA DE GARDEROBA UXORIS DICTI ROGERI, UT DICEBATUR.—Garderoba domine}. Idem respondet de j. dorsorio, iiij. tapetis, et j. banquer, de una secta, de armis predicti Rogeri; iiij. tapetis de alia secta; iiij. tapetis de bono et subtili opere; ij. coopertoris pro lecto scacc'; j. coopertorio pro lecto rub'; j. materaz de sindone cooperto; ij. materaz de canabo; viij. chalon; j. coopertor' rub' furratum (sic) de minuto vere; j. fustein pro lecto; j. counterpoin pro lecto; xv. paribus linthiaminum; iiij. ridell' pro curtinis de cardo; j. pari de curtinis de cardo palee; j. pari de curtinis de sindone palee; j. ridell' rub' de sindone; j. ridell' albo stragulato de sindone; ij. tunicis de panno de Thars', quarum una de viridi et alia de morree; ij. supertunicis de inde serico absque furrura; iiij. supertunice (sic) de serico taneto absque furrura; j. tunica et ij. supertunicis de panno de Thars' rub'; j. panno laneo integro de violetto colore; j. tunica, ij. supertunicis, j. mantell', et j. capa absque furrura, de bruno panno mixto; j. furrura nova de griso vere pro supertunica, et alia pro capucio; ij. faldyng' de Hibernia rub';⁵ j. albo faldyng' veteri; j. pecia panni pro ij. mappis ad altare; j. mappa pro mensa; ij. manutergiis dupplicibus; iiij. manutergiis parvis; xxij. ulnis linee tele; j. manutergio longo; iiij. savenap';⁶ j. parva pecia panni linei texti duplex (sic); ij. quissinis laneis de opere consuto; j. Spalterio;⁷ iiij. libris de Romanciis; ij. coffr' trussator', quorum j. continet ij. pannos de velveto rub' stragulatos in quadam cas', j. pecten, et j. speculum de ebore, j. parvam ymaginem beate Virginis de ebore, j. scurgiam de ebore,⁸ j. zonam de amall' et petris preciosis, que, ut dicitur, est filie dicte Rogeri; et alia

⁴ Sic. Trappure or trapper is the more usual form of the word; in Latin *trappatura*. In *Regist. Morteval, Sarum*, A. D. 1294, we find it as here written. "Pour le cheval, sele, treppe, et tester." Sir W. le Vavasour bequeathed in 1311 to Sir John de Creppyng "unam loriam et unam par de trappes." *Wills and Invent., Surtees Soc.*, p. 14. Among armour belonging to Sir John Marmaduke, Governor of Perth, t. Edw. II., occur "duo paria de trappes," value 40s. *Surtees, Hist. Durham*, vol. ii. p. 381.

⁵ Nicholas, the Oxford Clerk, in the *Canterbury Tales*, had "his presse icoured with a faldyng red." See detailed notices of Faldyng, Irish rugs or mantles, *phalinger*, *Prompt. Parv.* vol. i., p. 147.

⁶ The *Promptorium Parv.* gives "Sanop (or sanap) Manupiarium, manutergium, fimbriatum." The word is written also "Salvenap, Savenapes" in the accounts of St. Edmund's Hospital, Gateshead; and among the linen in the Prior's lodging at Canterbury, 1285, were found "mappe, manitergia, mappe de kanevas ad familiam, item Savenapp' de kanevas." It occurs in *Syr Gawayn, the Awntyrs of Arthur*, and other Romances, *passim*. It probably designated a board-cloth, a *sumnappe*, now called an overlay.

⁷ Sic, for *Psalterio*.

⁸ Possibly an ivory-handled holy-water sprinkler, *aspergillum*, or *esperger*; it may, however, have been a whip, or a *flabellum* for the lady Mortimer's use.

coffr' continet j. speculum de amall', et j. famil' de ebore pro scaccario ; * j. forcerium vacuum ; ij. pelves lavator'. ITEM, ARGENTEA INVENTA CUM DOMINA, videlicet ; ij. pelves argentei ; vj. disci argentei ; iiij. salsar' argentea ; et ij. cippi argentei.

Et computat totum liberatum predictae domine de Mortuo Mari, per proceptum domini Regis, exceptis ij. pelvibus argenteis, vj. discis argenteis, iiij. salsar' argenteis, et ij. cippiis argenteis, qui liberantur domino Regi per litteram suam predictam.

BOA INVENTA IN MANERIO DE LEINTHALE STARK'. Idem respondet de ix. bobus pro caruca, quilibet eorum appreciatus ad ix. s. ; v. equis pro carecta, precium cujuslibet v. s. per estimacionem ; viij. quarteriis avenarum in tasso, precium quarterii ij. s. ; fenum estimatum (sic) ad valorem xxiiij. s. ; j. carecta ferrata et alia non ferrata debilis (sic), cum harnesio ad unam carectam, precii ij. s. vj. d. ; ij. plaustris debilibus, precium cujuslibet iiij. s.

Inde computat, ix. boves, ij. affr', j. carectam ferratam cum harnesio, liberat' domino Regi per litteram suam predictam ; et liberatum domine de Mortuo Mari fenum precii xxiiij. s., precepto domini Regis, et per indenturam ; et ij. affr',¹ viij. quarteria avenarum, j. carect', et ij. plaustra, in vendicione.

BOA INVENTA APUD LEINTHALE. Idem respondet de iiij. bobus pro caruca debilibus, precium cujuslibet ix. s. ; c. ovis, precium cujuslibet xij. d. ; j. plaustro ferrato debili, precii iiij. s. ; aven' estimat' in grang' vij. quarteriis, precium quarterii ij. s. ; et de feno et forag', precii vj. d. Item, in quodam vivario apud Wygemore et in aliis vivariis infra (sic) dominium ibidem iiij. paribus cignorum aerariorum.

Inde computat iiij. boves liberatos domino Regi per litteram suam predictam ; et j. bos (sic) in morina, et c. oves, liberatos comiti de Arundel, per litteram domini Regis, et per indenturam ; et j. plaustrum ferratum et vij. quarteria avenarum in vendicione ; et reman' de feno et forag' precii vj. d. ; et iiij. pariorum (sic) cignorum aerariorum, de quibus postea iiij. in mor', et iiij. in vendicione.

BOA INVENTA POST INDENTURAM FACTAM, videlicet, vj. corde pro springall', iiij. talar' pro balistis, et. j. viz ; xl. bidentes ; j. par rotarum pro carecta ; j. coffr' cum pluribus cartis, scriptis, et aliis remembranc' ; j. magnum ferrum ad lapides fodiendos et sublevandos, quod vocatur Crowe, et j. magnum martell' de ferro ad idem.

Inde computat j. coffr' cum pluribus cartis, scriptis, et remembranc', liberatam domino Regi apud Hereford', per predictam litteram ; et totum residuum liberatum Comiti de Arundel', precepto domini Regis, et per indenturam. Residuum compoti de mortuo stauro factum fuit per indenturam et recognitionem dicti Alani et attorney sui super compotum, etc.

[In dorso.] INDENTURA : REX,

* A set of chessmen: among the *Jocals* in Wardrobe Book, 28 Edw. I., occur "una familia de ebore pro ludendo ad scaccarium," and "una familia pro scaccario de jaspide et cristallo in uno coffro." The manor of Kingston Russel, Somerset, was held by the service "narrandi (? numerandi) familiam scaccarii nostri in camera nostra, et ponendi illam in loculo cum ludum nostrum per-

fecimus." Rot. Orig. 3 Edw. III. Meyny, signifying likewise a household or family, is used to describe chessmen. Robert of Brunne, relating the festivities at King Arthur's coronation, says that some "drew forth meynè of the chequer."

¹ It may deserve observation, that no affri or heifers had been mentioned in the previous enumeration.



Diagram showing the aperture in the Unicorn's head.



Bronze Ewer, in the form of an Unicorn. Height, 10 inches. Found on the site of the village of Pleurs, in Lombardy.

The Original is in the possession of the Rev. G. M. Nelson. Described, *Archaeol. Journal*, vol. xv. p. 280.

Proceedings at the Meetings of the Archaeological Institute.

ANNUAL MEETING HELD AT BATH.

July 20 to July 27, 1858.

THE cordial invitation tendered to the Institute by the municipal authorities of Bath, as also by the learned Societies and kindred institutions of that city, having determined the selection of the ancient *Aquæ Solis* as the place of this year's assembly, the proceedings commenced on Tuesday, July 20. The Lord Portman, Lord-Lieutenant of Somerset, and the Lord-Lieutenants of the neighbouring counties of Wilts and Gloucester, conferred their patronage on the meeting; to which many persons of local influence, and others distinguished by their attainments in historical or antiquarian pursuits, gave their encouragement and co-operation. The preliminary arrangements were carried out, through the kind exertions of the Mayor (R. Wilbraham Falconer, Esq., M.D.), the Rev. H. M. Scarth, Mr. Breton, Mr. Davis, and other members of the local committee. The opening meeting was held at the Guildhall, on the afternoon of Tuesday, Lord Talbot de Malahide presiding.

The Mayor, in welcoming the Institute to Bath, said—My Lord Talbot de Malahide, and Members of the Archaeological Institute. I have pleasure in availing myself of this, the first opportunity which presents itself, of returning the thanks of the Corporation and citizens of Bath to your Lordship and the members of the Institute, for their ready acceptance of the invitation tendered to them last year, to hold their annual assembly in the city of Bath. With these thanks I would unite the sincerest expressions of cordial welcome on the arrival of the Institute in this ancient city. We welcome the Institute as a society which fosters careful inquiry and accurate observation; which promotes the progress of improvement by recalling forgotten achievements of human industry or intellect, and directing fresh attention to what has been hitherto but lightly regarded among the vestiges of earlier ages; which illustrates the page of history, the customs and manners of times and of persons that have passed away, and which, more especially, from knowledge acquired by investigation of the past, is enabled to gain wise lessons for the future. I am aware, my Lord, that the Institute has visited towns which have occupied a more prominent position in history than the city of Bath, and have possessed their several attractions. Bath also has its peculiar features of interest; there is scarcely an eminence in its neighbourhood which does not present traces of earthworks attributable to a very early period; there is scarcely a spot of remarkable beauty which has not afforded evidence of Roman occupation in the remains of villas, or other vestiges valuable to the archaeologist, which have been discovered. The town has afforded objects of more than ordinary antiquarian interest, and I may mention the important collection of Roman

remains, the property of the Corporation, freely open to the inspection of the friends and members of the Institute. Our neighbourhood also presents a rich variety of churches and ecclesiastical buildings, as well as striking examples of domestic architecture, such as the manor houses at South Wraxhall and Great Chalfeld. I trust, my Lord, that the inquiries of the Institute, during its visit, may be replete with gratification, and that favourable opportunities will be found of enabling those who have honoured us by their attendance to investigate the various objects of interest in a satisfactory manner. The Institute will feel grateful, with me, to the citizens of Bath for the readiness which they have evinced in enriching the local Museum. No applications for assistance in this respect have been made in vain; they have been promptly and liberally met. In conclusion, my Lord, I would again tender to your Lordship and the members of the Archaeological Institute the hearty welcome of the Corporation and citizens of Bath, to this our ancient city.

The Right Rev. Bishop CARB also desired cordially to welcome the noble President and the Archaeological Institute. Although he had entered but little into the study of archaeology, he must cordially admit that there were many circumstances which recommended archaeological inquiries to his mind. In the first place, such a study, as the Mayor well observed, tended to illustrate history, to explain our customs, and it led to the consideration of the foundation of our laws and institutions. Another advantage connected with research into antiquity was, that it not only illustrated and confirmed history, but gave reality to the historical facts which we read. There was also a great advantage in the Institute holding meetings in different parts of the kingdom; they necessarily had a tendency to throw light upon the absurd ideas which were often entertained. He remembered, when a boy, hearing in Yorkshire, that certain large heaps of stones (which were no doubt funeral mounds) had been brought by fairies; another legend was often related to the effect that a certain mound was caused by a witch, who was carrying stones to a certain spot, and that being interrupted, she let them fall. Now the researches of Archaeologists disproved such visionary fables, and invested with a real interest the objects discovered. Another great advantage connected with such researches was, that they were calculated to excite deep thankfulness for our present position. For instance, when we referred to the relics of the Druids, in ages when probably the neighbourhood was covered with a great forest, and the population was in a state of barbarism, or we looked back on the times of Roman history, we found customs which must fill our minds with repugnance, and regret that mankind should have been enslaved by such debasing superstitions. There could be no doubt that the tendency of such discoveries was highly beneficial, for they taught us to be thankful that we lived in times so enlightened as the present, and to be thankful, he trusted, to Providence, for the light of Sacred Truth which we enjoy. He begged to second the welcome which the Mayor had given to his Lordship and the Institute.

JEROM MURCH, Esq., expressed his wish to offer the Institute welcome in the name of the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution. The pleasant duty which devolved upon him would have been far better, and far more appropriately, discharged by a venerable friend who, for many years, presided over that Institution, and whose name was well-known in connection with some higher interests of the city. He was sure that all who were

acquainted with Mr. Philip Duncan would wish that he could have been present, with his kindly greetings, his genial wit, his varied knowledge, and his remarkable memory. Well might they offer a cordial welcome to their distinguished visitors, because such meetings could not fail to promote objects which they had very much at heart. Those who did not know Bath would find that it was not a mere fashionable city, fit only for the idle and frivolous; here science and literature had, from their earliest birth, found a not uncongenial home. Far be it from him to boast that the inhabitants of this ancient city were altogether worthy of the honour conferred upon them. He feared, if the truth must be known, that few had done what they could in the archaeological opportunities so abundantly presented to them; but he might express the earnest anticipation that their visitors were present, not merely to cherish their own tastes and increase their own knowledge, but to impart to others what they deemed so valuable themselves.

J. H. MARKLAND, Esq., D.C.L.; then rose, and said, that among those who were anxious to give an invitation and a cordial welcome to the Institute, and to give the former at an early period, he might mention the society of which he had the honour of being the President, the Literary Club of Bath. And if, as his friend, whom he was rejoiced to see on this occasion, Mr. Hunter—*clarum et venerabile nomen*—in his well-known essay, has said, "Bath has deserved to have a name in the literature and science of England," let them hope that they had not so far degenerated at the present day as not to hail the visit of the Archaeological Institute with the greatest pleasure. It was needless to go into subjects so often canvassed on these occasions. The utility of the society, no one, he thought, could question. By means of its annual progresses, by the exertions of individual members, and by its Journal, attention had, in numberless instances, been directed to objects of historical importance and interest, which had thereby been preserved from decay and injury. What an impulse also had been given by the Institute to researches, which had elicited most valuable information, and opened to the student new sources of inquiry. There was no one living in the present day under the advantages which we enjoyed from our ancestors, but must be sensible of the rich inheritance we possessed from them. Nor was it possible that any man could contemplate the monuments of antiquity which they had bequeathed to us, and investigate the customs and manners—he spoke of those only which were excellent—which they had left us, without being thankful that he was an Englishman. He could not resume his seat without referring to the very important services which his Lordship (the President) had invariably rendered in the good cause in which they were engaged. He would here allude particularly to his recent efforts on the subject of Treasure Trove. Within the last month Lord Talbot had introduced into Parliament a bill, which he (Mr. Markland) doubted not, if passed into a law, would prevent valuable antiquities being sacrificed as they have been in former years. Mr. Markland then referred to the preservation of monumental inscriptions, a subject which was of great importance both to historians and biographers, and to which the Society of Antiquaries—their venerable parent—had recently directed special attention. He regretted that they were deprived of the presence of many of those who on former occasions graced the assemblies of the Institute. He might particularly mention, from letters which he had received, the regret which was expressed

by the Bishop of Oxford, by the Marquis of Bath, Sir Charles Anderson; Sir John Boileau, and Mr. Shirley, all of whom were detained by important engagements; and, lastly, he must allude with sincere regret to the unavoidable absence of his excellent friend, Mr. Albert Way, who had been very desirous to participate in the proceedings of the Institute in his native city.

The Noble CHAIRMAN then said: Mr. Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen, I feel grateful to you, and I have great pleasure on the part of the Archaeological Institute, in expressing our warmest thanks for the honour you have conferred on us in inviting us to your beautiful city. I must observe that Bath is not altogether unknown to me. For many years I have been familiar with it, and I can appreciate many of those beauties and advantages which it possesses. It is, however, a matter of great satisfaction to me to be able to pass a few days in that ancient city, to pursue more in detail the investigation of those monuments which are situated in the neighbourhood, and devote special consideration to such customs and historical associations as are connected with it. I shall not, upon the present occasion, enter into any of those general questions which demonstrate the advantages arising from the study of archaeology. That subject has been well alluded to by some who have preceded me, and it is one now universally recognised. All who value accuracy in history, all who feel the interest which is conveyed in history by detailed accounts instead of vague generalisations, must feel the great charm infused into a narrative of early events, when it is rendered more like the chronicle of a contemporary than the work of a newly-informed writer of the present age. To show the increasing interest which begins to be generally felt, I need not go further than to draw attention to the cordial reception which has been given to those publications which have appeared within the last few years, illustrating details of social life. The works of Mrs. Everett Green and Miss Strickland, and of other ladies of accomplishments and learning, show that archaeological investigations into the manners of times past, possess very great attraction. The former lady is particularly praiseworthy, and she has received a very high testimony of approval from the government, by being one of those who are intrusted with the important duty of classifying the national documents preserved in the State Paper Office, in London. The city of Bath, as we all know, has been celebrated for the taste of its inhabitants, for the patronage they have given to the more liberal arts, and for the number of distinguished persons who have made it their residence, in order to cultivate with more quiet, and less disturbed by the turmoil of life, those more congenial and profitable pursuits. I need not allude at any length to the course the society will pursue on the present occasion. There will be interesting excursions, but I hope that we shall have a good supply of memoirs on subjects of local interest. It is most important to remember that the success of the Institute, and of such meetings as the present, is more dependent upon the value of the memoirs communicated to the Sections, than upon excursions, which often prove more attractive. I trust that we shall have an ample provision on the present occasion, and that there will be communications illustrating every branch of archaeological investigation. It is one of the merits of our study that hardly anything is of too trivial or too familiar a character not to possess an interest when duly investigated with reference to times past. One gentleman, a writer of no mean attainments, connected with the city of Bath, wrote an interesting treatise upon the

antiquities of the kitchen—" *Antiquitates Culinariae* "—a very curious work, throwing considerable light not only upon the mystery of the culinary art in early times, but incidentally also upon the manners of daily life. Many interesting works have been written on costume, in which all must feel concerned, particularly the fair portion of those who participate in our proceedings. Among the portraits in the Guildhall, where we are assembled, may be noticed one of a lady dressed in a costume which seems to have been revived, after the lapse of a century. This may show the value, even in a utilitarian point of view, of being familiar with subjects which some have deemed trivial, such as the costume of our ancestors. Bath, besides being a place of great interest with respect to its antiquarian associations and the literary characters connected with it, has, we all know, been for many years the abode of fashion, and any matters connected with that branch of the subject cannot fail to be of interest to us. I believe that all, more or less, if the truth were spoken, have no objection to a little harmless gossip, and if we do not feel any great objection to what some people consider very derogatory to dignity and manners in the present day, I am sure that most of us can pardon those who collect ancient gossip. The city of Bath, I believe, has never been deficient in interesting anecdotes of this kind. I am sure that those who have visited Bath on the present occasion will be highly indebted to any one who will take the trouble to bring together the characteristic traditions, beginning from the earliest period, from the time of King Bladud, down to the time of Beau Nash. My friend, Mr. Markland, to whom archaeologists, particularly those of Bath, owe such a deep debt of gratitude, has alluded to my exertions in the subject of "Treasure Trove." I think it right to explain in a few words the actual position in which this question is placed. As my friend observed, I have felt for a number of years a deep interest in the matter. All archaeologists deplored the present state of the law, but knew not what to do in the emergency. My first impression was to move that a committee be appointed to examine witnesses and make inquiries upon the subject; but, on further consideration, there appeared to be great difficulty under the existing law of obtaining information from those who had given any attention to the subject. At the same time there would have been great impediments in collecting accurate evidence. Many would object to come forward, and others might be afraid that their property would be endangered by giving information. Then, on the other hand, it was evident, in order to have evidence of any value, we should not confine ourselves to vague generalities. Under these circumstances it struck me that the best plan would be to have a bill drafted and laid upon the table of the house, which accordingly I have done. I think that the bill may meet the chief requirements of the case, although, certain amendments may doubtless appear requisite. My object was not to attempt to carry it into law during the present Session. That would have been hopeless. I had caused the bill to be drawn without consulting Her Majesty's government. It was most essential however to obtain the concurrence of the government in any further proceedings. The bill would have very considerably modified rights and prerogatives, which, of course, could not be considered at length without the permission of the Crown. The bill has been presented on the table of the House of Lords, and has been read a first time and printed. I consider that, in doing so, for the present my object was gained, and I have no intention of pressing it forward in the present year, but next

session I hope to take it another step in advance. I trust it may be found highly beneficial to archaeology. We know what important results a change of the law has effected in Denmark, and it appears certain that the results of a similar measure must prove of equal advantage to archaeology in this country. I do not mean to contend that it is the only thing wanted. No doubt greater attention to public monuments is absolutely required. One advantage of a society, such as the Institute, is that it keeps watch on public authorities ; and I must here admit that there are many corporations which do not take the same interest as the Corporation of Bath has shown in the preservation of its ancient monuments. Some of the worst acts of vandalism have been committed by such bodies. One of the great objects of such an association as ours is to maintain vigilant watch for such proceedings, and I have reason to think from my own experience, that when the evil apprehended is fairly stated, we seldom have difficulty in obtaining redress. It requires however great assiduity and promptitude in obtaining accurate and early information. It was, therefore, very desirable that we should have some public department to take an interest in the matter, and to be ready to interpose when any injury to National monuments is projected. It is very difficult, in this free country, to interfere with the rights of an individual, and compel him to do even that which everybody admits to be required ; but I trust that there will be well considered suggestions brought forward in regard to these questions, which may enable us to deal effectually with this important subject. In France, there exists a Committee of Arts and Monuments, which takes cognisance of the preservation of ancient remains, and which in many instances acts well. We know, however, that the government of France is a very different government to our own. Although France has universal suffrage, it is not in the enjoyment of the same liberal privileges that we enjoy. The government of France is omnipotent ; it can prevent a person doing anything it considers wrong, and by that means it does very much to preserve ancient monuments. At the same time, I must candidly admit that the French government have not always been equally successful. I have heard a remarkable instance of this which may interest some present who are acquainted with French antiquities. There was a curious tower in the centre of Paris which belonged originally to the Knights Templars. The antiquarians of Paris were exceedingly anxious to preserve it. On the other hand there were many persons, who had property in the neighbourhood, householders of Paris, who are a very important body, and these were anxious to remove what they considered a nuisance. Matters at length came to an issue; the antiquarians asserted that they regarded the tower as one of the few venerable remains left in Paris, and that it ought to be preserved. But the shopkeepers in the neighbourhood sent a deputation to the Emperor, and pointed out the inconvenience caused by this tower, and that they were anxious to get rid of it. I believe that the Emperor has no very great archaeological turn of mind, so he said at once, " Let it be removed." The antiquarian party next day assembled ; they were ready to protest, and tried to interfere, but it was too late ; the tower was removed. There is another anecdote, which may not be irrelevant on the present occasion, since it is strikingly illustrative of the way in which they do things in France. There was another very remarkable tower, part of the old church in the Place du Châtelet, which the antiquarians were exceedingly anxious to preserve ; but it was situated in very inconvenient proximity to some new streets that were in course of

construction, and they were alarmed least the *Municipalité* of Paris and the Government should remove it. However, a person among the antiquaries had influence with one of the most active members of the *Municipalité*; Arago, the well-known astronomer, and he sought to conciliate him. Arago had at that time a scheme for lighting Paris. His plan was to have an electric light of such power, placed in a high position, that Paris really should not miss the sun, that the night should be the same as the noon-day. Well, the antiquary sagaciously observed to Arago, "My friend Arago, you have now a fine opportunity for getting a place for your night sun. Here is the Tower of St. Jaques; you must secure that, and not have it pulled down. It is the very place for your light; I beg you will interfere." Arago did interfere, and the tower was saved.

Announcement having been made by the Rev. EDWARD HILL, regarding arrangements for the proceedings of the week, the Meeting adjourned. Some of the members visited the Temporary Museum, which was formed at the Assembly Rooms, whilst the larger number proceeded, under the obliging guidance of Mr. C. E. Davis, to examine the Abbey Church, of which he explained the principal architectural features, and the local circumstances which had occasioned the extreme narrowness of the transepts and the absence of aisles. Mr. Davis pointed out the remains at the east angle which are supposed to be part of the chapel of John of Tours, Bishop of Wells, who removed the see to Bath; also the supposed site of that prelate's sepulture, the elaborate chantry chapel of Prior Birde, the various memorials within the church, and other details. In the course of this examination, Mr. Edward Freeman offered some observations, comparing the architecture of Bath Abbey with that of other churches in Somerset, the Perpendicular style of which, as he stated, had characteristics peculiarly its own, distinguished by remarkable purity and beauty of detail. It was not confined to the small parochial churches (upon which a memoir has been given by Mr. Freeman in the Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society, 1854, Part II.), but was carried out, as he observed, in structures of greater magnitude, such as St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, Sherborne Church, and Bath Abbey. The first of these was erected at the beginning of the style, and the latter at its close. It appeared probable that the architect of the church of Bath had imitated St. Mary Redcliffe. In this opinion Sir John Awdry expressed his concurrence. On leaving the Abbey, under the guidance of the same obliging cicerone, the party inspected the façade of Ralph Allen's town residence, and proceeded to the King's Bath, in which as late as fifty years ago, as Mr. Davis related, ladies and gentlemen used to bathe together, with powdered heads, and little boats bearing their snuff-boxes, bouquets, &c., swimming before them, whilst their acquaintances lounged on the railings above. The other baths were then visited, also the ancient residence of the Hungerford family, Hetling House, the only relic of domestic structures of early date in Bath; the visitors next proceeded to inspect the residence of Beau Nash, and some other scenes associated with his memory. The circuit of the ancient city walls was pointed out, the east wall, being the portion in most perfect condition, and the only remaining gate, which led to the river where was formerly a ford. The walls, Mr. Davis stated, appear to have been partly built with Roman remains, as Leland had observed. On completing the circuit of the city, a vote of thanks was heartily tendered to Mr. Davis for his friendly services and valuable information.

The Museum, arranged by Mr. C. Tucker and Mr. Franks, presented an object of much attraction throughout the meeting. Among the principal features of interest may be especially mentioned the remarkable assemblage of antiquities of stone, bronze, and gold, with numerous relics of all periods, from Mr. Brackstone's collection, which contains a more perfect series of examples of peculiar types found in Ireland, than any Museum in this country. Numerous relics of the Roman age chiefly found in Bath were brought together; a collection of antiquities found in Wiltshire was contributed by the Archæological Society of that county from the Devizes Museum; and various iron mining implements, found in ancient workings supposed to have been known to the Romans, were sent by the Somerset Society. Mr. W. Tite, M.P., exhibited a selection of illuminated Service Books, and some very rare printed volumes, including some from the press of Caxton, and the earliest editions of Shakspeare's plays and poems. The corporation displayed the silver gilt mace; a remarkably fine grace-cup and salver; also the insignia of the Mayor, an enameled collar of SS. A large collection of exquisite examples of ancient plate, goldsmith's work, and enamels, was liberally exhibited by Mr. Rainey, as also many valuable examples of Oriental and European porcelain, and other *factilia*. Mr. Octavius Morgan, M.P., contributed a collection of Italian ecclesiastical rings and some other personal ornaments. A singular talismanic band of silver bearing a magical inscription was brought by Mr. Tipper; it was found in Bath. Some fine enamels were sent by Mr. Webb, Miss Armitage, the Rev. J. Bathurst Deane, Mr. Franks, and Mr. W. F. Vernon. Mr. Empson exhibited a painting in fresco by Guido, formerly in the Portland Collection, with other objects of interest, some rare Oriental weapons, vases, &c. In this brief enumeration may also claim notice, the antique vases from Italy, in possession of Mr. Murch, Mr. Goodridge and Mr. Conoley; the fine specimens of pottery and porcelain, belonging to Mr. Shephard; several portraits, including some of much local interest; one of Pope, exhibited by the Mayor of Bath; portraits of Anne Boleyn and of Queen Elizabeth, contributed by the Rev. H. Law; Beau Nash, painted by Bates, a pupil of Gainsborough, exhibited by Mr. Dowding, &c.

In the evening a *conversazione* was held at the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution. Mr. J. H. MARLAND, D.C.L., presided.

The Rev. F. KILVERT, M.A., read a very elaborate paper on "Ralph Allen and Prior Park," in which he took a review not only of Ralph Allen and his princely mansion, but of the intellectual celebrities of the age whom he befriended. A vote of thanks was passed to the author upon the motion of Lord Talbot de Malahide, seconded by Mr. Hunter, and they took part in the discussion which followed, as did also Mr. Tite, M.P., and Mr. Edward Hawkins. Mr. Kilvert, in reference to a remark by Lord Talbot, upon the generally received opinion that Ralph Allen was the original of Squire Allworthy in Fielding's "Tom Jones," observed that he believed the character was a compound one, drawn from three of Fielding's patrons, John, Duke of Bedford, George, Lord Lyttleton, and Ralph Allen.

Wednesday, July 21.

The Historical Section held a meeting at the Assembly Rooms, Mr. HUNTER, V.P.S.A., presiding, in the unavoidable absence of the Sectional President, Sir John Boileau, Bart.

The following memoir, on an Anglo-Saxon Guild at Bath, was read by Mr. J. H. MARKLAND, D.C.L.

In a letter, from the Rev. Edward Churton, Archdeacon of Cleveland, he stated, "I enclose a translation of one of the records of the Anglo-Saxon Guilds, from a MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (cxi. 13) copied in Hickes's *Dissertatio Epistolaris*. I selected it because an Abbot of Bath is one of the members of the brotherhood. I put it into English, because it is easier to write, as well as because it may possibly be more convenient; not knowing whether, in your antiquarian zeal, you have indulged your appetite with Anglo-Saxon. You have very probably some topographical historian of Bath, who has discovered notices of Abbot Ælfsige or Elfsy. I have met with his name in other documents, and I think the Cambridge manuscript, from which this was taken, was formerly the property of Bath Abbey."

To this volume Mr. Hunter refers, at p. 78 of his valuable essay "The Connection of Bath with the Literature and Science of England." Ælfsige, or Elfsy, was the fifth and last Abbot of Bath. He died in 1087. Soon after his death, the see of Wells was removed to Bath. In 1106 John de Villula, or of Tours, the Bishop of the diocese, conferred the city, with its appurtenances and various lands and tenements in its neighbourhood, on the Monastery of St. Peter, appointing the same to be governed by a *Prior*, instead of an Abbot. (See Dugd. *Monast.* ii. 257.) Hickes has also given an Anglo-Saxon instrument relating to a *Gyldscipe* at Exeter (from a MS. in the Cathedral), founded under the sanction and concurrence of Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, from 1072 to 1107, and the Canons of St. Peter's in that city, with the names of the Members in various places. Again, at p. 20, Hickes prints (from MS. Cott. Tib. B. V, f. 75), a third document in Anglo-Saxon, also accompanied by a Latin version, containing the agreement for a *Gyldscipe* at Cambridge, between a number of persons exclusively laymen. These rules are exceedingly curious, and are appended to these observations. A fourth instrument of the same character is printed by Hickes at p. 21, from the same MS. The regulations are equally curious; this latter was made at Exeter, neither of the two last, Sir Frederick Madden informs me, are dated, but no doubt they are all about the period 1100, or rather later. Hickes refers to several other MSS. in the Cottonian collection, for examples of similar *conventiones*, but they do not, with one exception, relate to *Gyldscipe*, only to agreements between various convents, and with individuals, for the performance of obituary masses, &c., a practice that seems to have been very common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The exception referred to is in the MS. Cott. Titus, D. 26, f. 17, where there is an abstract of a *Gyldscipe* contract very similar to the one communicated to me by Archdeacon Churton.¹

These guilds, according to Lingard, existed in every populous district, in numerous ramifications. Some were restricted to the performance of religious duties, and all were solicitous to provide for the spiritual welfare of the departed brethren. In some places, each member paid a sum for the good of the soul of a deceased brother. If one fell sick at a distance, certain of his brethren brought him home and attended his funeral. Among the

¹ My best thanks are due to Sir F. Madden, as well as to Mr. Hunter, and the Rev. F. Kilvert, for the kind assist-

ance which they have rendered me in preparing this paper for the press. (Note by Mr. Markland.)

laws established in the Guild of Abbotsbury were the following: "If any of us fall sick within sixty miles, we engage to find fifteen men, who may bring him home; but if he die first, we will send thirty to convey him to the place in which he desired to be buried. If he die in the neighbourhood, the Steward shall inquire where he is to be interred, and shall summon as many members as he can, to assemble, attend the corpse in an honourable manner, carry it to the minster and pray devoutly for the soul."—*Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 246.

Milner, the historian of Winchester, claims for that city a priority in these institutions. He states that, in A.D. 856, the principal citizens of Winchester formed themselves, under the royal protection, into a society, called the Guild; this, he says, was "the first association of this nature, by the space of a whole century, recorded in history." Thus early, he adds, was the foundation "laid of this primitive corporation."—*Hist. Winch.* i. 121.

The record sent by the Archdeacon is as follows: the date cannot be later than 1083, as Queen Matilda, who is mentioned, died that year.

"In the Name of the Lord our Saviour Christ. Here is made known that Wulfstan, the Bishop¹ hath agreed in the Lord's Name, with his loving Brothers that are true to him before God and before the world; that is, first Egelwin, abbot of Evesham,² and Wulfwold, abbot of Chertsey, and Elfay, abbot of Bath, and the brethren; and Edmund, abbot of Pershore, and Rawulf, abbot of Winchcombe, and Serle, abbot of Gloucester, and Elfstan, dean of Worcester. That is, that we will earnestly be obedient to God, and to St. Mary and St. Benedict, and guide ourselves in our conduct as nigh as we nighest may to what is right, and be, as it is written, as of one heart and one soul [Acts iv. 32];³ and we will be faithful to our temporal Lord King William, and the Lady Matilda, before God and before the world. And we have agreed among us, for our souls' good, and that of all the brothers that are subject to us, that we will be at unity together, as if all these seven minsters were one minster, and as it is here before written, of one heart and one soul; that is, that we every week will sing two masses in each minster, separately and exclusively for all the brethren, on Monday and Friday; and this shall be made known to the brother who presides over the mass-service for the week, that he may further this mass, for the brethren that are living, and for each brother that is departed let each do their office, as if they were all together at one minster. And now is their agreement declared, that they will be obedient to God, and to their Bishop, for their common good; that is, that each of them⁴ shall perform one hundred masses, and buy what is necessary with his own hand, and bathe a hundred poor men, and then feed them and clothe them, and let each sing himself seven masses,⁵ and provide for them for thirty nights their meat before them, and one penny over and above their meat. God help us, that we may thus establish it to last, and increase it with some further good! Amen.

¹ This was the famous St. Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, 1062 to 1095-6. He was canonised in 1203.

² In the original, the name of the Abbot of Evesham is written Egelwig, i.e. Egelwy.

⁴ The original has here the Latin words of the Vulgate.

⁵ By "each of them" seems to be meant each abbot specified, and the Dean of Worcester.

⁶ Were these masses for the souls' good of the poor persons relieved?

"These are the brethren's names at Evesham; that is, first, Egelwin the Abbot, and Godric the abbot,⁷ and Egelwin the dean, and Ordmer, and Godefrid, Theodred, Reynold, Eadric, Elfwin, Eadrig, Collinig, Leofwine, Elfrie, Wulfwin, Sired, Bruning, Elmer, Elfwin, Egelric, Egelwyrd, Dunning, Sægeat, Uhtred, Edward, Edmund, Ulf, Brihtric, Wulfsige, Sexa, Elfwin, Wulmer, and Egelwy.

"These are the brethren's names at Chertsey: that is, first, Wulfwold the abbot, and Elfward and Scelaf; Oter and Godwin; Ethelstan and Edgar; Eadmer and Godwin; Elfwin and Benedict; Siwine and Alfwold; Brihtnoth and Elfrie; Godric and Elfrie; Wulfward and Wulfrie.

"These are the brethren's names at Bath; that is, first, Elfsy the abbot and Elfrie; Leoswig and Hiehwulf; Elfwy and Egelmer; Edwy and Godwin; Egelwin and Oswold; Elmer and Theodwold; Eadric, Egelmer, Sæwulf, Thured, Egelric, and Herlewin; and Godric the monk at Malmesbury, who is also one of us; and also Wulferd, Pice's brother at Taunton."

Wanley observes that this document is probably incomplete, as the names of the brethren at Pershore, Winchcombe, Gloucester, and Worcester are not added.

In declaring that the poor should be cleansed by immersion before they were fed and clothed, we see here a wise regulation for giving them the comforts of a bath. The historian of Whalley, in his description and remarks on that Abbey, alludes to the quantity of flesh meat consumed by the monks, when they had scarcely a vegetable to eat. "One circumstance," he adds, "in their habits must have exposed them to putrid and cutaneous disorders. I mean a total inattention to cleanliness, which is to be imputed to the absurdity of their rule; for they had no sheets to their beds, or shirts to their backs; they slept in their ordinary dresses of woollen, and never availed themselves of a practice, from which they appear to have been prohibited, and which alone rendered the same habits tolerable in the ancients—namely, a constant use of warm baths—which would have removed all impurities from the skin. In us it would produce a strange mixture of feelings to be repelled from the person of a man of learning, or elegant manners, by foul smells and vermin."

Here this historian appears to have been greatly mistaken. The greater monasteries seem to have had a large bath-house, "*bathiendra manna hus*," bathing-men's house for strangers. It would have been inexcusable if the Abbey of Bath had not possessed what was so essential to health and comfort. The munificent Bishop, John de Villula, Warner says, added to the convenience of his monastery by building two baths within its precincts: one, called the Abbot's Bath, he devoted to the use of the public; the other was appropriated to the Prior. The King's Bath supplied the former with water; the latter was fed by a spring of its own. They continued to serve the purposes for which they were constructed till the middle of the sixteenth century.

The Archdeacon of Cleveland referred to these Guilds in a sermon which I had the pleasure of hearing delivered by him in Wells Cathedral, but which was never published. He kindly favoured me with the following extract:—

⁷ A second abbot in the same monastery. He was probably one who had

retired from duty on account of age or infirmity.

"I need not dwell longer on other instances from the history of our own church of ancient benefits to the cause of religion and charity, from societies within the general body ; such as were the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Guilds and Brotherhoods, marking a rude state of society indeed in some particulars, and devised for mutual protection under ill-executed laws, but also embracing help for the sick and poor, and a decent care of the funerals of their departed friends. The number of names subscribed to some of these old records of Christian fellowship, show that there is something of the tenderness of nature, not harshly to be condemned, in this desire of association—that human kindness cannot be contented with a solitary exercise of religion, but desires the good of mutual participation and companionship in prayer and works of love—to walk in the house of God as friends,' and find there that home for the lonely heart, where it feels that, 'as in water face answereth to face, so the heart of man to man.'"

The text, to which the name of the Abbot of Bath is affixed as a subscriber, will bear out this comment.

Mr. Burt has given a valuable paper, in the Norwich Volume of the Transactions of the Institute, "on certain Guilds, formerly existing in the town of Little Walsingham." These are classed by him as "Frith Guilds, for the maintenance of peace and security ; merchant guilds, trades' guilds, and ecclesiastical guilds." This paper affords some useful information on the subject of these associations, not only in that particular locality, but generally as to the objects for the promotion of which they were founded. Mr. Burt speaks of Ecclesiastical Guilds as having their rise in this country towards the close of the fourteenth century, but the instances which I have given prove their existence at a much earlier period. The greater portion of those described by him are of the reign of Henry VIII.

Mr. Jeffery, of this city, has pointed out to me, from Rudder's Gloucestershire, an instance in the church of Dyrham in this neighbourhood, dated nearly 500 years after the period of which we have been speaking. A guild was there founded by Sir Wm. Denny and Lady Anne his wife, daughter of Maurice, Lord Berkeley. It was ordered that prayers should be daily offered for the founders, and for all that would become brothers and sisters, or helpers of the fraternity, and for all benefactors. The accounts were to be kept by persons called Proctors of the Guild, and directions are given that they should be properly audited. Large gifts were made in kine and sheep. Thirty-three shillings and fourpence were to be received by the Proctors as a payment for the Priest. Many were the brethren and sisters of this Guild, being in fifty parishes in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, amounting probably to 300 persons. The payment from each person was 10d. or 20d. quarterly.

As the Archæological Institute would desire to exhibit to the present generation whatever was deserving of praise in past times, the documents here noticed, and the work they record, call upon us to pay honour to whom honour is due. That much good-fellowship was connected with Guilds, Turner observes, cannot be doubted. "These associations may be called the Anglo-Saxon Clubs." Guilds must have been popular with the English people. The assembling for a laudable object, and the good cheer, which was not forgotten, must have rendered these anniversaries most attractive. Occasionally we may suppose that the manners of the age might lead to scenes of revelry, as we have witnessed in recent times,

more honoured in the breach than in the observance. We are too apt to ascribe to the age in which we live all that is "wisest, discreetest, best," and to speak with little indulgence, sometimes with little truth, of what we are pleased to call the dark ages. Whilst we mark, as we must with pleasure, the great and extensive benefits now imparted by our county clubs and friendly societies, let us remember that our forefathers, eight or nine centuries ago, had carried into effect the very same good work, which we now seek to accomplish with the same spirit, and under the same Christian influence.

A writer, not over indulgent to the prevailing religious system of former days, admits the salutary influence, breathed from the spirit of a more genuine religion, which often displayed itself. "In the *original principles* of Monastic Orders," Mr. Hallam observes, "there was a character of meekness, self-denial, and charity, that could not be wholly effaced. These virtues were inculcated by the religious ethics of the middle ages; and in the relief of indigence, it may upon the whole be asserted that the monks did not fall short of their profession."

The Anglo-Saxon document, regarding the Guild at Cambridge, referred to in foregoing observations as cited in the "*Dissertatio Epistolaris*," by Dr. George Hickes, on the utility of Ancient Northern Literature, p. 20, is preserved in Cott. MS. Tiberius, B. V. f. 75. A Latin translation may there be found; the following English version of this curious document is given by Mr. Kemble, in the appendix to his *Saxons in England*, vol. i. p. 513.

"In this writ is the notification of the agreement which this brotherhood hath made in the thanes' gild of Grantabrycg. That is, first, that each gave oath upon the relics to the rest, that he would hold true brotherhood for God and for the world, and all the brotherhood, to support him that hath the best right. If any gild-brother die, all the gildship is to bring him where he desired to lie; and let him that cometh not thereto pay a sester of honey; and let the gildship inherit of the dead half a farm,⁸ and each gild-brother contribute two pence to the alms, and out of this sum let what is fitting be taken to St. Ætheldryth.⁹ And if any gild-brother hath need of his fellows' aid, and it be made known to the reeve¹ nearest the gild (unless the gild-brother himself be nigh) and the reeve neglect it, let him pay one pound; if the lord neglect it, let him pay a pound, unless he be on his lord's need or confined to his bed. And if any one steal from a gild-brother, let there be no boot,² but eight pounds. But if the outlaw neglect this boot, let all the gildship avenge their comrade; and let all bear it, if one misdo; let all bear alike. And if any gild-brother slay a man, and if he be a compelled avenger and compensate for his insult, and the slain man be a twelve-hundred man, let each gild-brother assist if the slain be a ceorl, two ores; ³ if he be a Welshman, one ore.

⁸ "Et sodalitas alteram partem sump-tuum accommodabit."—Hickes.

⁹ The church of Ely.

¹ Gerefa. See Mr. Kemble's dissertation on this name, *Saxons in England*, vol. ii. p. 151. In its general sense, it designated the fiscal, administrative, and executive officer. The functions of the reeve of the shire, or sheriff, the reeve of the farm, or bailiff, &c., are set forth

by Mr. Kemble. See also Spelman, Ducange, and Lye.

² Ang. Sax. Bot, compensation to an injured party.

³ Ora, a sort of Saxon money, of two kinds, the larger contained 20 peningas, the lesser only 16. See Hickes, *Ep. Diss.* p. 111., Spelman, Lye, Somner, and Bosworth in v.

But if the gild-brother with folly and deceit slay a man, let him bear his own deed; and if a comrade slay another comrade through his own folly, let him bear his breach as regards the relatives of the slain; and let him buy back his brotherhood in the gild with eight pounds, or lose for ever our brotherhood and friendship. And if a gild-brother eat or drink with him that slew his comrade, save in the presence of the king, the bishop, or the ealdorman, let him pay a pound, unless he can clear himself with two of his dependents,⁴ of any knowledge of the fact. If any comrade misgreet⁵ another, let him pay a sester of honey, except he can clear himself with his two dependents. If a servant draw a weapon, let his lord pay a pound, and recover what he can from the servant, and let all the company aid him to recover his money. And if a servant wound another, let the lord avenge it, and the company, so that seek what he may seek, he shall not have his life. And if a servant sit within the spence,⁶ let him pay a sester of honey, and if any one hath a foot-sitter,⁷ let him do the same. And if any gild-brother die or lie sick out of the country, let his gild-brethren fetch him alive or dead, to the place where he desired to lie, under the same penalty as we have before said, in case of a comrade's dying at home,⁸ and a gild-brother neglecting to attend the corpse."

The Chairman said they were greatly indebted to Mr. Markland for his memoir. There were probably few persons aware that there was a Guild associated with the monastic institutions of Bath. At one time the Abbey occupied nearly the whole space to the water on the south side of the city, and it was one of the noblest monastic institutions in the kingdom. Its influence on the inhabitants of Bath, must have been very great. The greater part of the professional men lived in the Abbey, and seemed to have been officials of the House. The monks had their physicians living among them, and their sculptor; they had annual banquets on several occasions, to which they invited the citizens in considerable numbers. There was this advantage in investigating the history of the Abbey of Bath, there were more complete cartularies and registers than were to be found appertaining to any other monastery with the exception of Glastonbury, Malmesbury, and Abingdon. In the library of Corpus Christi College, at Cambridge, there is an ancient and valuable cartulary; the Marquis of Bath formerly had another, to which Mr. Markland had referred;⁹ and there was one in the library at Lincoln's Inn. He had taken extracts from that cartulary, and if any local antiquary desired to have a minute history of Bath and its institutions, he could not do better than make careful examination of these registers, and he had no doubt the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn would readily permit access to that which is preserved in their library.

Mr. Addison, of Preston, Lancashire, stated that there was in that town

⁴ "Consacramentalibus."—Hicce.

⁵ "Inciviter et asperius appellet."—*Ibid.*

⁶ "Si famulus in via cuiquam insidietur."—*Ibid.*

⁷ "In tendiculum sive decipulam ponat."—*Ibid.*

⁸ Of this MS. some description will be found in Warner's History of Bath, Appendix, p. 42, edit. 1801. It is there

called "Ruber Codex Bathoniæ," and is so cited by Burton in his Commentary on Antoninus' Itinerary. It was bequeathed to Thomas, Viscount Weymouth, the friend of Bishop Ken, by Dr. Thomas Guidot, the Physician of Bath. This curious volume has, unfortunately, been long missing from the Longleat Library.

a Guild similar to the one referred to by Mr. Markland, and which possessed a remarkable document, setting forth its ancient constitution.

The Master of Gonville and Caius College, Dr. GUEST, then delivered a discourse on the Boundary Lines which separated the Welsh and English races in the neighbourhood of Bath during the seventy-five years that followed the capture of that city, A.D. 577, with speculations as to the Welsh princes who during that period were reigning over Somersetshire.

A meeting of the SECTION of ANTIQUITIES was also held, Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M.P., presiding. A memoir was read by Mr. Jefferies on Lansdown; comprising notices of the two Roman camps, the British works, Waller's entrenchments, the monument of Sir Bevil Grenville, and the remains of St. Laurence's Chapel, now a farm-house, supposed to have been the resort of pilgrims on their way to Glastonbury.

During the afternoon a large party visited Prior Park, the subject of Mr. Kilvert's paper on the previous morning. Prior Park was built in 1734 by Wood, for Ralph Allen, and here he dispensed his munificent hospitality, and entertained Fielding, Pope, Sterne, Warburton, and other intellectual celebrities of the age. Hampton Down was also visited under the guidance of the Rev. H. M. Scarth. He directed attention to Wansdyke, the great Belgic boundary, a portion of which is here very distinct. They were now, he observed, on entering upon the Down, upon the site of an ancient Belgic settlement, which, no doubt, existed before the Christian era and continued until after the Roman occupation; the Romans living in the valley, and the natives upon the hill. The visitors proceeded over the trackway through the camp, which is distinctly marked, and the divisions of the settlement supposed to have been occupied by different tribes are also observable. Mr. Scarth pointed out the situation of other camps, including that on the opposite hill of Solsbury, where the goddess Sol is supposed to have been worshipped, and from which or the neighbouring hill of Bannerdown the Saxons invaded Bath. Remains of hut circles are traceable on Hampton Down. Skeletons deposited in a sitting posture had been found in the side of the hill, at a spot probably used as a burial place for the settlement. The roadway or stone avenue from the camp to the ancient temple or place of judicial assembly, was also shown, as were the remains of the Druidical circle itself. This circle was formerly much more complete, and it is to be regretted that many of the stones have been carried away to form ornamental rock-work in the Bath Park and in private gardens.

The Annual Dinner took place this day at the Guildhall. Lord Talbot presided, and among the guests were the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, Lord Auckland, the Right Worshipful the Mayor, the Right Rev. Bishop Carr, Rector of Bath, Sir A. H. Elton, Bart., Mr. A. Beresford Hope, M.P., the Ven. Archdeacon of Bath, Mr. Markland, Mr. Hunter, the Rev. Arthur Fane, the Hon. and Rev. F. B. Portman, Prebendary of Wells, Rev. E. Trollope, Professor Donaldson, Mr. F. H. Dickenson, and other influential members of the Institute.

Thursday, July 22.

This day was devoted to an Excursion to Glastonbury Abbey. The Rev. J. L. PETT very kindly undertook to officiate as cicerone, and he greatly contributed to the gratification of the day.

By the liberal permission of the Mayor and Corporation, the Charters

and other valuable documents connected with the City of Bath were arranged so as to be accessible to the members of the Institute on this and the two following days. The following extract from the enumeration of these muniments, is obtained from a Catalogue drawn up by John Furman, in 1776, which through the kindness of the Mayor was provided for the gratification of the visitors.

1. A.D. 1189. Charter, dated 7 Dec., 1 Richard I. Whereby the king commands that the citizens who are of the Merchant Gild shall be free from all toll, customs, &c., in the same manner as the citizens of the Merchant Gild of Winchester.

2. A.D. 1246. Insuperimus and confirmation of the Charter of Richard I. Dated 23. Dec., 31 Henry III. No new privilege granted. Warner's Hist. of Bath, App. p. 18.

3. A.D. 1256. Grant, dated 24 July, 40 Henry III., to the citizens, that they or their goods shall not be arrested for any debt for which they are not bondsmen, or principal debtors, &c.

4. A.D. 1275. Charter, dated 12 Nov., 3 Edward I. Granting to the Bishop of Bath and Wells that all citizens of Bath, their heirs and successors, should be free from toll throughout the realm.⁹

5. [A.D. 1284?] Grant to the Bishop of Wells to hold a fair at his Manor of Bath, for ten days on the eve, on the day, and on the morrow of the Apostles Peter and Paul (June 29), and on the seven following days. Dated 1 Sept. 12 Edward [I. ?].¹

6. A.D. 1313. Insuperimus and confirmation of the Charter of 40 Henry III. Dated 12 March, 6 Edward II. Also a Duplicate.

7. A.D. 1331. Insuperimus and confirmation of Charter of 6 Edward II. without granting any new privilege. Dated 4 May, 5 Edward III. Also a Duplicate.

8. A.D. 1340. Insuperimus and confirmation of the last, granting further, in consideration of a fine of £20, that the citizens shall be free of stallage, murage, pavage and picage, throughout all England, &c. Dated 10 April, 14 Edward III.

9. A.D. 1371. Grant to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, reciting that whereas he and his predecessors had at Bath weekly two markets, from the feast of St. Calixtus until Palm Sunday, he and his successors may have two markets weekly throughout the year. Dated 20 June, 45 Edward III.

10. A.D. 1382. Insuperimus and confirmation of Charter 14 Edward III. Dated 9 March, 5 Richard II. Also a Duplicate.

11. A.D. 1400. Insuperimus and confirmation of Charter 5 Richard II. Dated 25 March, 1 Henry IV.

12. A.D. 1414. Insuperimus and confirmation of Charter 2 Henry V. Dated 24 November, 2 Henry V.

13. A.D. 1432. Insuperimus and confirmation of Charter, 2 Henry V. Dated 1 June, 10 Henry VI.

⁹ Some doubt appears to have arisen in regard to the date of this charter, which will be found entered in the Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 3 Edw. I., p. 46.

¹ The precise date is not fixed in Furman's schedule, where this grant is

conjecturally assigned to *Edw. II.* It does not appear in the *Calend. Rot. Pat.* but probably the grant was made by *Edw. I.* to Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and Wells, chancellor, a prelate much in favour with that king.

14. A.D. 1447. Charter granting certain privileges to the Mayor and procurators, and reciting that the grant was made in regard to administration of justice, cognisance of pleas, punishment of offenders, &c., for relief of the city and in ease of the charge they were at, among others, of the Fee Farm, paid to the Bishop of Bath and Wells. Dated 26 November, 26 Henry VI.

15. A.D. 1466. Inspeximus and confirmation of Charter 10 Henry VI. Dated November 16, 6 Edward IV.

16. A.D. 1544. Grant to the Mayor and citizens of a yearly fair within the city, to be held on 1 February, and the six following days, together with a court of *Pie poudre*, &c. Dated 29 June, 36 Henry VIII.

17. A.D. 1552. Grant to the Mayor and citizens of a Free Grammar School, and of all the king's messuages, lands, &c., in Bath, formerly parcel of the possessions of the Priory, for the better supporting of the said school. The Mayor and citizens to find a proper master, well skilled in the Latin tongue, who should have £10 a year for his salary out of the profits of the premises; and out of the said profits the Mayor and citizens were also to relieve yearly ten poor persons dwelling within the city and suburbs, &c. Dated 12 July, 6 Edward VI.

18. A.D. 1574. Grant from the Crown of the offices of Bailiff, Coroner, Escheator, and Clerk, of the Market of the City and Liberties thereof, formerly belonging to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, to William Swayne for his life. And also of the office of Bailiff of the Hundred of Holford, Gretton, and Rittesgate, co. Gloucester, parcel of the possessions of William, late Marquis of Northampton. Dated 4 May, 16 Elizabeth.

19. A.D. 1590. New Charter, dated 4 Sept., 32 Elizabeth.

20. A.D. 1684. New Charter, dated 31 Dec., 36 Charles II.

With the Royal Charters here enumerated were produced also the three following documents. Letters Patent, being the exemplification of the Record of the acquittal of Richard Godelegh, chaplain, Henry Goldsmith, and others, tried at Bath for felony. Dated 28 November, 20 Richard II. (1396). General Pardon, granted to the Mayor and Commonalty, of all trespasses, &c., committed before 9 April then last past; and of all debts, &c., due to the King before 1 Sept., in his 20th year. Dated 15 Oct., 25 Henry VI. (1446). General Pardon, granted to the Mayor and Commonalty, of all trespasses, &c., committed before 7 April, then last past. Dated 12 June, 30 Henry VI. (1452).

Friday, July 23.

A Meeting of the Historical Section was held at the Assembly Rooms, Mr. HUNTER, V.P.S.A., presiding.

A Memoir was read by Mr. J. P. RUSSELL, Librarian to the Literary and Scientific Institution, on the Growth of the City of Bath with reference to its Buildings and Population.

A highly interesting Memoir was read by Mr. MARKLAND, on the Domestic Architecture of Bath at different periods. A series of drawings by Mr. H. V. LANSDOWN, were displayed in illustration of this subject.

Notices of houses in Bath formerly inhabited by men of eminence, were also read by Mr. H. V. LANSDOWN, and illustrated by his drawings.

At the conclusion of these valuable communications, Mr. Dickenson

expressed the hope that they might be given to the public in a more permanent and complete form than the mere production of them in the Transactions of the Institute. He trusted that Mr. Markland and Mr. Lansdown would give them the materials for a History of Bath in all the interesting details which they had heard, and which had been so admirably illustrated. Mr. Markland responded to this appeal, and paid a well-merited compliment to the talents and exertions of Mr. Lansdown, whose drawings were well deserving of being perpetuated by the engravers.

In the Architectural Section, Sir JOHN AWDRY presided. He said, before calling upon Mr. Freeman, who was about to address them on Malmesbury Abbey, he was desirous to offer a few words upon the History of Architecture as connected with the district in which they were assembled. This was a very interesting neighbourhood in regard to architecture, although in Bath itself there were few instances of architecture in its highest state. Bath, however, is situated in the centre of a country of building stone, and the result was that the humbler buildings were of peculiar interest. The cottages of the peasantry for many miles round, where they had not been modernised, were of great interest; and in many of the villages the tradition of Gothic Domestic Architecture was not lost. In illustration he might mention that in the village of Lacock, where he resided, some cottages had recently been built by the village mason as a matter of speculation, and he had introduced the mullioned window, which was much better than some of those he had been called upon to make when working under architects. The art of sawing stone seems also to have been practised here when chisels and other instruments requiring more labour in their use were employed elsewhere. Thus the spires in the neighbourhood, which were late in the Perpendicular order, were smooth plain surfaces, without moulding, and evidently constructed with sawn stone. The spire at Box was named as an example. He mentioned this, not with praise, but as locally characteristic, and instanced parts of Corsham and Lacock churches, of earlier date, and in other respects of good character, which had great poverty of effect from this cause. Sir John then proceeded to say that the history of architecture commenced with the Roman works in the neighbourhood. Those who had visited the Literary Institution had seen portions of a temple dedicated to a local goddess, called Sul, and whom the Romans called Sul Minerva. It was a temple of a late period, and in a remote province, and therefore it could not be expected that the Romans lavished upon it the skill found in some other of their works; but, nevertheless, it was a building of the Corinthian order, on a considerable scale, and possessed great boldness of ornamentation. From the Roman period a great interval occurred; but, as they knew, this city continued to be during that dark period an inhabited and fortified city. They next came to the Norman style of architecture; and he might observe, that there was a chronological association, which approached very near to accuracy of date in regard to the different styles of architecture. Thus, after the Norman period, what is called the Early English style, when new principles were being worked out, during which the forms were derived from Classical Architecture, though its principles were forgotten, nearly coincided with the period between the first Magna Charta and those more extended constitutional rights obtained in the reign of Edward I. The pure and perfect Gothic, by some called the Decorated, occupied the glorious time from Edward I. to the decline of Edward III. Then we might carry down the

period from Richard II. to the close of the wars of the Roses, with which the Early Perpendicular style coincided. It was a period both politically and architecturally of considerable change, but the political changes were dynastic rather than constitutional: the architectural changes rather affected the subordinate forms than the essential principles of construction. The Tudor kings introduced a great modification in architecture, and the name of Tudor was commonly applied to the style. Whereas the earlier Gothic architecture had an elevated and aspiring character, in Tudor times we had the depressed arch introduced in those dominant lines of the buildings, where, in earlier styles, only a more acute outline would be admissible. The splendour of its first and finest specimen, King's College Chapel, lent a glory to the style; but its real debasement was evident in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, and St. George's Chapel at Windsor. Bath Abbey, however, though rebuilt very late in the style, is an extraordinary specimen of a return in this respect to an earlier character. They would here expect to have it of the more debased kind, but it was not so. The architect seemed to have found similarity in the proportions of the ground plan in the foundation of an older structure, and to have followed the vertical character of that splendid specimen of architecture, St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. Sir John Awdry then entered somewhat fully into the architectural characteristics of Bath Abbey, and particularly concurred with Mr. Davis, who commended the way in which the flying buttresses were carried down so as not to disguise the form and beauty of the building. It differed in this from those magnificent foreign churches, which in the lofty proportions of the clerestory it imitated, that the form of the interior, the essential point to be made obvious in Gothic architecture, was not hidden or disguised by a huge scaffolding of stonework. He then proceeded to later times, remarked that in Bath at least that which had been the subject of so much obloquy elsewhere, street architecture, had been practised better than in almost any other place. Among the earliest specimens of this style, were the sound and grand masses of the Parades; Milsom Street also contained some good architecture, but it had been much injured by the conversion of the lower part of the houses into shops. The upper side of Queen's Square was one magnificent whole: the Crescent was, perhaps too heavy in its columnal part, but it was a noble structure in a noble situation; and the Circus was the happiest idea of turning the Roman Amphitheatre outside in, and converting it into habitations, that he had seen. Indeed, the classical orders as they were known in Rome, were scarcely anywhere carried out with so high a degree of purity as in Bath.

Mr. EDWARD FREEMAN then delivered his Discourse on the Architectural styles and peculiarities of Malmesbury Abbey. He took occasion to deprecate the selection of places for excursions at the Annual Meetings of the Institute, remote from the locality in which the Society assembled. He invited attention to the curious Anglo-Saxon church existing at Bradford, within a short distance of Bath, and suggested that if possible that place should be visited in preference to the more distant church of Malmesbury, announced in the programme for the following day.

In the meeting of the Section of Antiquities, the Chair was taken by Mr. OCTAVIUS MORGAN, M. P., V. P. S. A.; and the following Memoirs were communicated.

Some Account of the Opening of Barrows in the neighbourhood of Priddy

and elsewhere, on the line of Roman road between Old Sarum and the Port in the Bristol Channel, at the mouth of the river Axe, supposed to be the *Ad Axium* of Ravennas. By the Rev. H. M. SCARTH.

The Druidical Temple at Stanton Drew, Somerset, commonly called the Weddings. By Mr. WILLIAM LONG. Printed in this volume, p. 199.

Description of Tumuli opened in the Isle of Purbeck, Dorset, in 1856 and 1857. By the Rev. J. H. AUSTEN.

Observations on Ancient British Temples. By JOHN THURNAM, M.D., F. S. A.

Notices of Ancient and Mediæval Labyrinths. By the Rev. E. TROLLOPE, F. S. A. Printed in this volume, p. 216.

Notices of certain remains of temples in Malta, and their possible connexion with Stonehenge. By Mr. GEORGE MATCHAM.

Observations on the Batheaston Vase. By the Rev. G. KILVERT.

The Painted Glass in Gloucester Cathedral. By Mr. CHARLES WINSTON.

At the Evening Meeting in the Assembly Rooms, a valuable Memoir was read by Mr. TITE, M. P., On the Discoveries recently made at Bodrun, the ancient Halicarnassus. Numerous illustrations were exhibited.

SATURDAY, July 24.

This day had been devoted to an excursion to Castle Combe and Malmesbury Abbey. The party proceeded at an early hour by train to Corsham, and thence in carriages by Biddestone, where they examined the open belfry of the church, the earliest known example of the kind, the leper's window, the Norman font, &c., to Castle Combe. After inspecting the church, recently restored, the cross-legged effigy of one of the De Dunstanville family, the painted glass, &c., the visitors were conducted through the gardens of Mr. Poulett Scrope's residence to the British camp and the castle beyond. That a Roman station existed near this spot appears from numerous coins and Roman relics turned up by the plough at various times. The Fosse way passes within a short distance of the Castle-hill, and forms the parish boundary on the West. A plan of the entrenchments is given in Mr. Scrope's *History of the ancient Barony of Castle Combe*,¹ and in the Abridgment of that interesting volume, produced in the Transactions of the Wiltshire Archæological Society. The camp occupies a striking position; the area is about eight acres, and is divided by transverse works into several compartments, within the last of which, towards the extreme point of the hill, the lower chambers of a keep-tower, considered to be of Norman work, are still to be seen. The party then proceeded to Malmesbury.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, F. S. A., who kindly acted as cicerone to the excursionists, pointed out that the earliest part of the church was Norman. The Abbey was originally Saxon; the Normans began to rebuild it in 1135, and probably carried it on to 1150, and the doorways were inserted about 1170 or 1180. When good hammer and chisel work was found it generally indicated a date later than 1150 or 1160. The sculpture of the chisel was very rare till near 1150. A simple tool would be sufficient to account for the billet work and shallow mouldings; shallow work was

¹ Privately printed, 4to. 1852. The notices and plan of the castle occur at p. 8. The church is described, with many

illustrations, p. 359. See also the Wiltshire Archæological Magazine, vol. ii. p. 135.

almost always early, and that of a deeper form later. The rich zigzag work and the intersecting arches belonged to the Early Period.

He began at the west end, because the manner in which the joints of the doorway have been inserted in the earlier work is there distinctly visible, and this doorway is part of the richly sculptured work exactly of the same kind and of the same date as the very rich south doorway and porch.

In the southern side the great porch, the lower tier of windows, an upper tier, some flying buttresses, with their pinnacles, and an ornamental open parapet, claim attention. Round the lower part of the wall was a continued series of intersecting arch mouldings, forming arcades, which must have been intended merely for ornament; these are continued along the western front and also round the transepts. Immediately above is a plain string moulding, and over that a range of round-headed windows, in which, being of enlarged dimensions, mullions and tracery have been introduced. The upper windows or clerestory are in the Decorated English style. The exterior and interior doorways of the southern porch are covered with elaborately ornamental sculpture. The figures appear to represent various subjects from the Old and New Testament; and though distorted and ill-designed, yet, as specimens of the art of their age, they are extremely curious. The inner doorway, without columns, is also decorated with sculptures.

Mr. Parker stated that the fifteenth century tracery had been introduced in windows of the twelfth century; the open parapet was of the fourteenth century; the outer arch and casing of the porch were of the fourteenth, and the inner arches late in the twelfth century. The interlacing of the ornaments was very curious, almost unique; the flying buttresses were of the fourteenth century and very fine. From the flat buttresses between the clerestory windows he considered that the Norman church was of the same height as the present; the circular ornaments called *pateræ* are almost peculiar to Malmesbury. The church was designed of its full size originally, but from the irregularity in the form of the buttresses near the west end, he believed that there had been an interruption in the work.

Proceeding to the inside, Mr. Parker pointed out the irregularity of the work, and mentioned that after proceeding for a time the building must have been discontinued for want of funds, and have been continued by a different set of workmen. The pointed arches had sometimes been considered to be the earliest of the kind in England. The mouldings and ornaments were about 1140 to 1150, and he saw no reason why the arches should not be assigned to the same period. The two eastern arches were constructed at a later date than the others, though the capitals were of the earlier period. The triforium was of the same period (1150), and he thought that the original design had been carried out. A great portion of the ornamental work was probably cut after the stones were placed in their positions. The vaulting was of the fourteenth century, and of a beautiful kind; the bosses were elegantly carved, the arrangement of the ribs and the side-vaults very good. Of the projection from the clerestory it was observed that it was said by some to be the abbot's oratory connected with his residence. It might have been for the use of the singers. Some said it was for a small organ, or some other musical instrument. The centre vaulted ceiling with the clerestory windows were inserted in the fourteenth century. The vaulting of the side aisles belongs to the original work of the twelfth. The cornice above the arches, containing the Greek "tau" alternately reversed, was very uncommon, and was looked upon as an indication,

in addition to others, of workmen of the Greek school from Byzantium being employed. The remaining portion of the stone screen was of the time of Henry VIII. ; erected when the tower fell, and inserted in the Norman work.

The mass of ruins at the east end of the structure was then inspected ; the lofty and singular-shaped arch, one of the four which supported the central tower, excited admiration. "The archivault (says Britton) does not spring immediately from the capitals as is usual in the semi-circular arch, but the mouldings, after preserving their perpendicular lines for about six feet above the capitals, converge, and form an arch of what is commonly called the horse-shoe shape, rather flattened at the top. The inter-columniation is not so wide by nearly ten feet as that on the western side of the tower ; consequently the latter formed a parallelogram." From this cause the arches across the narrow space would not be of the same form as those over the wider spaces. The fragments of ornament inside the remaining portion of the tower, Mr. Parker looked upon as indicating that the tower was a lantern tower open to the church. The chancel was of the same date as the nave ; the church was so injured by the fall of the central tower as to render it necessary to cut it off from the rest of the building.

The door and windows on the north side were then examined. With respect to the gable window, miscalled a dormer, Mr. Parker observed that it was probably carried up and the window inserted to give additional light to an altar or chantry inside the church. Pointing out the comparatively plain appearance of this portion, he remarked that it was not the custom to ornament all parts of churches alike, but only those portions that were most in view. There were many instances of this practice.

After visiting the rectory house and vestiges of the extensive conventual buildings, the party returned by Chippenham to Bath.

Monday, July 26.

An Excursion was made, under the obliging guidance of the Rev. H. M. SCARTH and Mr. C. E. DAVIS, to Englishcombe, the remarkable remains of the Wansdyke, Stanton Drew, and some other localities of great archæological interest. Mr. Scarth gave a detailed account of the course and peculiar features of the Wansdyke, which, after traversing Wiltshire from east to west, enters Somerset on the brow of Farley Down, and crosses the Avon a little beyond Bathford, thence ascending to the ancient camp on Hampton Down, and at the back of Prior Park towards the Fosse Way, which it traverses. It is best seen at Englishcombe ; thence it proceeds to the hill camp of Stantonbury, and may be distinctly traced near Compton Dando ; after which it reaches a camp at Maes Knoll, of which it forms, as likewise in two other instances in Somerset, the northern boundary. The line beyond this fortress is very obscure ; it has been supposed to terminate at Portishead on the Severn. This dyke was probably the last frontier of the Belgic province ; and Sir R. Colt Hoare points out evidence of its having been used likewise by the Saxons, as a boundary between two petty kingdoms, the West Saxon and Mercian.

At Englishcombe the attention of the visitors was arrested by the ancient barn, with an early English finial, windows, woodwork, and other portions which were referred by Mr. Parker to the fourteenth century. Two cruciform apertures, filled with tracery on the inside, he considered unique, and possibly work of the time of Edward I. The party visited the remains

of the castle of the De Gournays, and the church, a structure chiefly of the transitional period about 1180: the chancel was rebuilt *c.* Edward II. A singular effigy of an infant in swaddling clothes is seen over the chancel arch. The church of Newton St. Loes, recently restored by Mr. Gore Langton, under the directions of Mr. Davis, was next visited; also the park, manor-house, and castle of St. Loes; whence the party proceeded to Stanton Bury Hill, and the remarkable encampment which commands a most extensive view. The Ven. Archdeacon Gunning kindly directed the attention of the visitors to its varied and interesting features. At Compton Dando church Mr. Scarth pointed out a Roman altar, said to have been found in the Wansdyke, and now built into one of the buttresses. It bears two figures, possibly Apollo and Hercules. On the road thence to Stanton Drew, Archdeacon Gunning pointed out the huge stone known as the "Giant's Quoit," said to have been thrown by a giant from Maes Knoll. On reaching the Druidical circles, of which a map has been given in this volume, p. 199, *ante*, the visitors were kindly welcomed by Mr. Coates, son of the proprietor of the estate on which the remains are situated, and an interesting discourse on their character, as compared with those at Stonehenge and at Avebury, was delivered by the Rev. J. Bathurst Deane. Mr. Moore, a gentleman intimately acquainted with the geology of the district, offered some remarks upon the materials of which the massive blocks are formed, and stated that the nearest place at which similar stone now appears is at Broadfield Down, distant three miles and a half. The remains of a cromlech or sepulchral chamber were pointed out by Mr. Bathurst Deane near Stanton church, where also some features of interest were examined; the Norman font, an incised tomb of unusual character, and a building adjacent to the church, now known as "the Priest's House," possibly an Anchorite's cell. The party returned towards Bath through Queen Charlton, Keynsham, and Bitton, where the chief objects of interest are the chantry chapel, built 1299, by Thomas De Bitton, Bishop of Exeter, and the tombs of the Bittons. They have been described in a Memoir by the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, in the Transactions at the Meeting of the Institute at Bristol, p. 248. One of these memorials, a remarkable cross-legged effigy with the head in relief, the rest of the figure being portrayed by incised outlines only, is there figured. It is supposed to represent Robert de Bitton, who lived about the time of Edward I.

TUESDAY, JULY 27.

The Annual Meeting of Members of the Institute was held at ten o'clock. The Chair having been taken by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, the Report of the Auditors for the previous year (printed in this volume, p. 178), and the following Annual Report of the Central Committee were submitted to the meeting, and both were unanimously adopted.

In accordance with accustomed usage, the Central Committee gladly availed themselves of the occasion presented by the Annual Assembly of the Institute, to pass in review the general progress of the Society, and the advance of Archæological research during the previous year. They could not refrain from the expression of congratulation, not only to those members who had responded to the friendly invitations of a city replete with associations highly interesting to the antiquary, but to those also,

scattered throughout the realm, who had been unable to participate in that intellectual and social interchange of knowledge, which the recurrence of such anniversaries could not fail to encourage. Since the last Annual Report had been submitted to the Society at the Chester Meeting, no very remarkable incident, possibly, had marked the past year in direct connexion with their Proceedings, to claim special notice on this occasion. No striking act of Vandalism had claimed interference, but the extension of a lively interest in National Monuments, stimulated, doubtless, through the Meetings and the Publications of the Institute and of other kindred Associations, might justly encourage the hope that, with a more true appreciation of Historical and Antiquarian vestiges, an effectual conservative influence must be brought into operation through the length and breadth of the land. One memorable occurrence, however, signalised the previous year, in regard to the interests of Archæological Science. A decisive movement had been at length originated by the noble President of the Institute, in a cause of which he had long been the zealous advocate,—the remedy of evils arising from the ancient rights of Treasure Trove. Whilst in Scotland an energetic course had been taken by the Society of Antiquaries, from which the relief so long desired might speedily be realised in North Britain, Lord Talbot had taken the initiative in this country by presenting in the House of Lords, during the last session, a Bill for the amendment of the existing law, as the first step towards bringing this question under serious consideration on a future occasion. It may confidently be hoped that the conflicting interests connected with a matter of such essential moment to the antiquary may thus ultimately be adjusted.

During the past year Mr. Charles Newton, formerly Honorary Secretary of the Institute, has availed himself of advantages presented in his actual position as Vice-Consul at Mitylene, to achieve some of the most important discoveries of recent times, at the site of the ancient Halicarnassus. With most praiseworthy spirit and energy Mr. Newton has carried out the exploration of the remains of the Tomb of Mausolus, and rescued from oblivion extensive vestiges of that wonder of the ancient world, sufficing to enable him satisfactorily to identify its remarkable character and design. The national collection has already been enriched by a considerable portion of these precious relics, displaying in a remarkable degree the genius and artistic power of Scopas and his great contemporaries, through whose united skill that memorable work was achieved. Mr. Newton is still engaged in the prosecution of his explorations in Asia Minor and at Carthage, for which it were to be desired that ample funds should be placed by the Government at his disposal. To the encouragement and liberality of Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the successful results of Mr. Newton's recent enterprise has been, it is believed, mainly due.

The promotion of Archæological pursuits through the operation of Provincial Societies and Institutions, the formation of Local Museums, and the record of discoveries, has been constantly on the advance. In Somersetshire a very important accession to Antiquarian resources has been secured through the bequest of the late Mr. Smith Pigott, whose valuable collections and drawings of the architectural and other ancient remains throughout the county have been entrusted to the Somersetshire Archæological Society, and will find a suitable depository in their Museum at Taunton. The establishment of the Franklin Institution at Lincoln, with

arrangements for a Museum to receive the scattered vestiges of antiquity, so profusely presented in that locality, and rescued from oblivion through the laudable efforts of Mr. Trollope and other zealous friends of the Institute, claims honourable mention, as does also the Museum and Free Public Library at Lichfield, and the completion of a Museum and Free Library at Norwich, which has been achieved with liberality worthy of that great city. The National collections at the British Museum have been enriched by praiseworthy liberality on the part of certain individuals, and they have been augmented from time to time through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Augustus Franks. It is, however, to be regretted that occasions for the acquisition of important collections have, as heretofore, been lost; the valuable antiquities brought together at Richborough and Sandwich by Mr. Rolfe, have, it is understood, followed the Faussett Museum; they have passed into the possession of that liberal archæologist, Mr. Mayer, F. S. A., who is found ready on every occasion to advance the interests of science.

At a former Meeting of the Institute, the maps of the Roman Wall, surveyed by direction of the Duke of Northumberland, were through his kind permission produced for the gratification of the Society. That very valuable survey, admirably carried out by Mr. Maclauchlan, has subsequently been engraved at the sole expense of his Grace; and the accurate memorial of so remarkable a monument of Roman enterprise must be viewed with the highest gratification, as an evidence of the continued favour of the Duke towards Archæological investigations, which have been already so largely indebted to his generous encouragement. It has moreover been announced, that through the liberality of the Duke of Northumberland a complete *Lapidarium*, illustrative of the sculptures and inscriptions of the great Northern Barrier, is in preparation under the able editorship of Dr. Collingwood Bruce. This work, in which may be anticipated the most important accession to the history of Roman occupation in Britain that has appeared since the days of Horsley, will be produced under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle.

The Central Committee desired to record the tribute of regret and respect to the members deceased since the last Annual Meeting. In this enumeration were specially to be remembered the distinguished nobleman who had given his sanction to the Meeting of the Institute at York, the Earl Fitzwilliam, President on the occasion; as also the late Dean of York, who had encouraged the Proceedings of the Society at that time. The Institute had to lament the loss of one of their earliest and most friendly supporters. Lord Braybrooke, a nobleman who had ever shown himself the kind patron of historical and antiquarian researches, to which also he had personally devoted considerable attention. Another valued friend, among the very first who had given to the Society their warm cooperation, the Rev. Dr. Bliss, late Registrar of the University of Oxford, had terminated a life of laborious and well directed exertions, amidst which his kindly sympathies and assistance were ever readily bestowed on Societies or on individuals engaged in pursuits kindred to his own. In the death of Lord Handyside, a distinguished member of the Scottish Court of Session, the Institute has sustained the loss of a valued friend, one of the most influential accessions gained through the Edinburgh Meeting, to which he gave the warmest support. Among other members, and those who had participated in the Annual Proceedings of the Society, must be named with regret the late

Mr. George S. Nicholson, Mr. Disney, the generous founder of an Archæological Professorship at Cambridge, Sir John Kerle Haberfield, of Bristol, the talented Mr. Augustus Stafford, M.P., and Mr. Wyndham; as also a very eminent foreign Archæologist, enrolled in the ranks of the Honorary members of the Institute, Dr. Comarmond of Lyons, who had rendered essential service to Antiquarian Science and Literature in France.

The following lists of members of the Central Committee retiring in annual course, and of members of the Institute nominated to fill the vacancies, were then proposed to the meeting, and unanimously adopted.

Members retiring from the Committee:—The Earl Amherst, *Vice-President*; R. W. Blencowe, Esq., Henry Cheney, Esq., Benjamin Ferrey, Esq., Alexander Nesbitt, Esq., George Scharf, jun. Esq., the Rev. Walter Sneyd. The following members being elected to fill the vacancies:—The Earl of Ilchester, *Vice-President*; Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., Alexander Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P., William Tite, Esq., M.P., W. W. E. Wynne, Esq., M.P., the Rev. T. Cornthwaite, and William Parker Hamond, Esq. The following members were also elected as Auditors,—James E. Nightingale, Esq., and F. L. Barnwell, Esq.

The selection of the place of Meeting for the ensuing year was then taken into consideration. The requisitions received from various localities were submitted to the meeting; more especially that which had been received from the Mayor and Municipal authorities of Carlisle, communicated at the Chester Meeting in the previous year. Their invitation will be found in this Journal, vol. xiv. p. 385. A cordial renewal of the assurance of welcome in that city was likewise addressed to the Society on the present occasion by Mr. Robert Ferguson, stating that the friends of the Institute in Carlisle had received from most of the leading persons of the city and county the pledge of their warmest support. It was unanimously determined that the Meeting for the ensuing year should be held at Carlisle.

At the close of these Proceedings a Meeting took place, for the purpose of receiving such memoirs as had been previously deferred, through want of time, at the Sectional Meetings. The Chair having been taken by Mr. JAMES YATES, F.R.S., a communication was received from Mr. A. Haviland, of Bridgewater, relating to a remarkable Sanitary Regulation, adopted at Dunster, Somerset, during the prevalence of the Plague in 1645. The occupants of the several tenements in a long street established communication throughout its extent by opening doors internally from house to house, so as to avoid all necessity of going into the open street.

A Memoir was read by Mr. C. E. DAVIS, on remarkable architectural remains first noticed by him in Sept. 1857, at Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, and supposed to be of Pre-Norman date, possibly connected with the monastery founded by St. Aldhelm, in the eighth century.

The Rev. T. HUGO communicated some unpublished documents relating to Athelney Abbey, Somerset, upon which a short notice was read by the Rev. W. E. Austin.

The Rev. H. M. SCARTH then offered some observations on the Roman Inscription discovered at Bath in 1854, and figured in this Journal, vol. xii. p. 90. Mr. Scarth also read a communication from the Rev. Dr. M'Caul, Principal of Trinity College, Toronto, whose attention had been arrested

by the importance of the inscribed tablet, and some valuable criticisms were offered on the period to which it belongs. Mr. Scarth has given a Memoir on the subject in the Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological Society, during the year 1854, p. 135.

The General concluding Meeting was then held; Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE presiding. The usual expressions of acknowledgment were voted to the local authorities, to all institutions and persons through whose friendly co-operation the successful results of the Meeting had been ensured, especially to the Mayor and Corporation, to the liberal contributors to the Museum, and to the Local Committee. A vote of thanks having been proposed by the Mayor to the Noble President, the proceedings terminated.

The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the following Donations received on occasion of the Bath Meeting. The Mayor of Bath, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., 5*l.*; Dr. Guest, Master of Caius College, 5*l.*, Right Rev. Bishop Carr, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Dr. Watson, 2*l.* 10*s.*; Mr. B. Watson, 2*l.* 10*s.*; Rev. H. M. Scarth, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Mr. W. Long, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Mr. Markland, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Mr. Brymer, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Mr. H. D. Skrine, 2*l.* 2*s.*; Mr. J. S. Soden, 2*l.*; Mr. W. H. Blaauw, 2*l.*; Mr. A. W. Franks, 2*l.*; Mr. Albert Way, 2*l.*; Rev. J. F. Moor, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Col. Oliver, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mr. C. J. Vigne, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mr. G. Robins, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. T. Bathurst Deane, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mr. E. Hunt, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mr. Bartrum, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mr. F. Murch, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mr. W. Thompson, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Rev. C. R. Davy, 1*l.* 1*s.*; Mr. Knyfton, 1*l.*; Mr. H. Godwin, 1*l.*; Mr. H. R. Ricardo, 1*l.*; Mr. W. H. Breton, 10*s.*; Mr. W. Sandford, 10*s.*; Miss Fenton, 10*s.*; Mr. J. E. Gill, 10*s.*; Rev. H. Calverley, 10*s.*; Rev. E. J. C., 10*s.*; Rev. J. Wood, 10*s.*

Archaeological Intelligence.

We announce with satisfaction that it has been determined to make a complete investigation of the site of the extensive Roman city of URICONIUM, Wroxeter, in Shropshire. Many of our readers, who were present at the Meeting in Shrewsbury in 1856, will recall the striking features of the position on the elevated banks of the Severn, the massive columns, the curious vestiges of structures of more than ordinary importance, and especially the portion of a building of large dimensions, remarkable as an example of Roman construction, and marking the site of some great public edifice of which the remains have never been excavated. Several inscriptions have been found at Wroxeter, and are preserved in the Library of King Edward's School at Shrewsbury. There remain doubtless other valuable memorials of this description hitherto concealed among the debris. The interesting memoir on the vestiges of this ancient city, read at the Shrewsbury Meeting by the Rev. H. M. Scarth, will not be forgotten. The Duke of Cleveland, on whose estates the remains are situated, has given consent that excavations should be made; and at a meeting of the Shropshire and North Wales Antiquarian Society, held at Shrewsbury, Nov. 11, ult., it was proposed by the President, Beriah Botfield, Esq., M.P., seconded by the Earl of Powis, that a subscription be entered into for making excavations at Wroxeter, and that all objects discovered be placed in the

Museum of the Society at Shrewsbury. Mr. Botfield offered a contribution of fifty guineas, and many other subscriptions have been received. It is hoped that sufficient funds may be raised to enable the Society to carry out a thorough examination of *Uriconium*, and it is requested that persons disposed to aid this desirable object should forward their subscriptions to the Hon. Secretary to the Excavations' Committee at Shrewsbury, Henry Johnson, Esq., M.D., from whom a map of the site and a statement of the project may be obtained.

We have to announce with pleasure the production of the second Part of Mr. J. W. PAPWORTH's Ordinary of Arms, to which we invited attention on a former occasion. (See p. 196, in this volume.) A third portion will speedily be issued to the subscribers; and it were much to be desired that more liberal encouragement of so useful a publication might enable the author to accelerate the completion of his laborious undertaking. Subscribers' names are received by the Author, 14 A, Great Marlborough Street, London.

The Rev. BEALE POSTE, of Bydews Place, Maidstone, announces (by subscription, price 6s.) a Report of Discoveries at St. Faith's Church, in that town, illustrated by several plates. The volume will contain also an account of antiquities of various periods, British, Roman, and Saxon, chiefly connected with Maidstone.

The recent completion of a first portion of the work undertaken by the Society of ANTIQUARIES OF NEWCASTLE, the continuation of Hodgson's History of Northumberland,¹ will speedily be followed by the production of the History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. We have learned with satisfaction that this important chapter of Northern Topography, for which a mass of valuable material has been brought together since the publication of Brand's History, has been entrusted to very able hands. Among evidences of the extended range of Antiquarian research, and the more judicious mode of treating the combined facts of local history, since the compilation of those memorials of Newcastle by Brand, we may cite the valuable Memoirs on the state of Newcastle during the Saxon Period, and the Trade of Newcastle previous to the reign of Henry III., for which the Institute has been indebted to Mr. J. Hodgson Hinde. They will be found in the first volume of the Memoirs contributed at the Meeting of the Institute in Northumberland, lately published by Mr. G. Bell.

A novel application of the PHOTOGRAPHIC ART to the illustration of subjects of Archæological interest has been announced for publication by Mr. Lovell Reeve, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. It consists of ninety stereographs of Druidical remains, examples of Ecclesiastical and Military Architecture, Wayside Crosses, Monuments, &c., in Brittany, with a narrative of a tour by the Rev. J. M. Jephson, F.S.A.

It is proposed that the ANNUAL MEETING of the Institute at Carlisle, under the patronage of the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Muncaster, High Sheriff of the County, Lord Brougham, the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, and other persons of distinction and influence, shall commence on July 26. The programme will shortly be issued.

¹ History of Northumberland: the General History of the County, containing the Roman and Saxon Periods, with

a narrative of events from the Conquest to the Accession of the House of Hanover. Newcastle. T. & J. Pigg. 4to.

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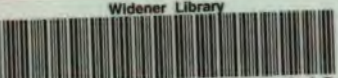
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